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Uncontracted Negatives and Negative Contractions in Contemporary English: A Corpus-based Study

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

GENERAL

AmE – American English

AusE – Australian English

AuxC – Auxiliary-verb Contraction

BrE – British English

Cat – Category

eModE – Early Modern English

IE – Indo-European

KO – Knockout Contexts

lME – Late Middle English

lModE – Late Modern English

lOE – Late Old English

LSWE – *Longman Spoken & Written English*

ME – Middle English

NF – Normalised Frequency

NotC – *Not*-Contraction

NP – Noun Phrase

NzE – New Zealand English

OE – Old English

OED – *The Oxford English Dictionary*

OpeC – Operator Contraction

OSV – Object – Subject – Verb

OV – Object – Verb

OVS – Object – Verb – Subject

O-forms – Original Contractions

p – Person

PDE – Present-day English

pl – Plural

Po – Postposition

Pr – Preposition

Q-forms – Quoted Contractions

RP – Received Pronunciation

S – Spoken

SAmE – Standard American English

SBrE – Standard British English

SE – Standard English

SEU – *Survey of English Usage*

sg – Singular

SOV – Subject – Object – Verb

SVO – Subject – Verb – Object

UncN – Uncontracted Negative

VO – Verb – Object

VOS – Verb – Object – Subject

VP – Verb Phrase

VSO – Verb – Subject – Object

W – Written

> gives, has given

< derived from

***** ungrammatical form

= equivalent to

different from

CORPORA

ACE *– The Australian Corpus of English*

BROWN *– The Brown University Corpus of American English*

CSPAE *– The Corpus of Spoken Professional American English*

FLOB *– The Freiburg-Lob Corpus of British English*

FROWN *– The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English*

LLC *– The London-Lund Corpus*

LOB *– The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of British English*

WSC *– The Wellington Spoken Corpus*

WWC *– The Wellington Written Corpus*

TEXT CATEGORIES

(a) ***LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE*, *WWC***

CAT A – Press Reportage

CAT B – Press Editorial

CAT C – Press Review

CAT D – Religion

CAT E – Skills, Trades and Hobbies

CAT F – Popular Lore

CAT G – Belles Lettres, Memoirs and Biographies

CAT H – Miscellaneous

CAT J – Learned and Scientific Writings

CAT K – General Fiction (in *WWC* this category, together with Cat L, is named 'Fiction' and comprises all fictional text-types, Humour included)

CAT L – Mystery and Detective Fiction

CAT M – Science Fiction (not in *WWC*)

CAT N – Adventure and Western Fiction (not in *WWC*)

CAT P – Romance and Love Story (not in *WWC*)

CAT R – Humour (not in *WWC*)

CAT S – Historical Fiction (only found in *ACE*)

CAT W – Women's Fiction (only found in *ACE*)

(b) ***LLC***

S.1 – Conversations between Equals

S.2 – Conversations between Equals

S.3 – Conversations between Disparates

S.4 – Conversations between Intimates and Equals

S.5 – Conversations

S.6 – Non-surreptitious Conversations between Disparates

S.7 – Surreptitious Telephone Conversations between Personal Friends

S.8 – Surreptitious Telephone Conversations between Business Associates

S.9 – Surreptitious Telephone Conversations between Disparates

S.10 – Spontaneous Commentary

S.11 – Spontaneous Oration

S.12 – Prepared but Unscripted Oration

(c) ***CSPAE***

Math Com – Math Committee Meeting

Read Com – Reading Committee Meeting

North Carol – North Carolina Meeting

WH – White House

(d) ***WSC***

DGB – Radio Talkback

DGI – Broadcast Interview

DGU – Parliamentary Debate

DGZ – Transactions and Meetings

DPC – Conversations

DPF – Telephone Conversations

DPH – Oral History Interviews

DPP – Social Dialect Interview

MSN – Broadcast News

MST – Broadcast Monologue

MSW – Broadcast Weather

MUC – Sports Commentary

MUJ – Judge's Summation

MUL – Lecture

MUS – Teacher Monologue

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I. INTRODUCTION

Negation has been, and still is, a favourite topic not only among linguists, but also among philosophers, psychologists and so on, given that it is a phenomenon common to all human languages. The vast majority of linguistic studies about negation deal with issues such as double or multiple negation, clausal versus subclausal negation or the use of different negative elements and non-assertive words such as *not*, *nothing*, *nobody*, *none* or *never*. However, the variation between negative contractions and uncontracted negatives in English has not attracted much attention on the part of scholars, with the exception of Biber (1987), Hiller (1987), Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002), Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002) and Castillo-González (2001, 2003). This is precisely the area of negation in which I am interested. The aim of the present study is to analyse, from a variationist perspective, the distribution of contracted and uncontracted negatives in contemporary English, both in the written medium and in the spoken language, paying special attention to the distribution of such forms according to dialect, date of compilation of the texts, text-type, type of operator and type of subject.

The study is divided into two main parts. The first one is concerned with a number of theoretical questions about negation and with a review of the literature on the use of contractions versus uncontracted negatives in both spoken and written English. In turn, the second part is a corpus-based study of the use of

contractions versus full forms in written and spoken contemporary English texts. What follows is a more detailed description of what I seek to offer in the different sections which make up this piece of research.

The point of departure of this study is the distinction between clausal and subclausal negation, following scholars such as Klima (1964), Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Huddleston (1995). Clausal negation refers to that kind of negation by means of which the whole clause is made negative, while subclausal negation refers to that type of negation where only one part of the clause is negated. On the basis of such a distinction, my study is restricted to the analysis of clausal negation with the negator *not*, which in PDE can mainly be expressed in three different ways: (a) uncontracted negatives or full forms (UncNs) (e.g. *She is not a student*), (b) operator contractions (OpeCs) (e.g. *She's not a student*) and (c) *Not*-contractions (NotCs) (e.g. *She isn't a student*). However, these three negative variants are not allowed with all operators. Thus, while the full form is possible for all operators, the two contracted forms are only found for the verbs *be* (in the present tense), *have* (both in the present and in the past), *will*, *would* and, according to some scholars, *shall*. Therefore, my study focuses on those operators which allow the three alternative ways of negation (cf. Section II.1.). In doing so, this study differs from the work carried out by other scholars, such as Hiller (1987), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002) or Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002), who analyse exclusively the variation between OpeCs and NotCs.

The most remarkable changes undergone by the English system of clausal negation and negative contractions along history are discussed in Section II.2. Concerning contractions, although negative contracted forms are already attested in OE times under forms such as *nabban*, *nart*, *nillan* or *nolde*, among others, contractions with the negator *not* appeared much later, in speech around 1600 and in writing around the year 1650 (cf. Jespersen (1917), Strang (1970), Barber (1976) or Brainerd (1993), among others). In turn, the first appearances of contractions with an operator date from the late sixteenth century (cf. *OED* s. vv. *will*).

Section II.3. is concerned with a review of the literature on the selection of the three variants of negation under study, paying special attention to those factors which condition, on the one hand, the choice of full forms over contractions (Section II.3.1.), and on the other, the choice of either OpeCs or NotCs (Section II.3.2.). Some of these factors are the following: (a) type of text (cf. Sections II.3.1.1. and II.3.2.3.1); (b) geographical variation (cf. Sections II.3.1.2. and II.3.2.3.2); (c) social stratification (cf. Section II.3.1.3.); (d) gender and age (cf. Sections II.3.1.4. and II.3.2.3.3.); (e) various structural factors, such as type of clause or type of subject, among others (cf. Sections II.3.1.5. and II.3.2.3.4.); and, finally, (f) phonological factors (cf. Section II.3.2.3.5).

Given that not all operators allow the two possibilities of contraction discussed above, the individual behaviour of those operators allowing the

interchangeability of UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs, namely *be*, *have*, *will* and *would*, is delineated in Section II.4.

As mentioned above, the second part of this study contains a corpus-based analysis of the topic at issue. For my purposes, I have selected nine different computerised corpora of contemporary English, both written and spoken, namely *The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (***LOB***), *The Freiburg-Lob Corpus of British English* (***FLOB***), *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (***BROWN***), *The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (***FROWN***), *The Australian Corpus of English* (***ACE***), *The Wellington Written Corpus* (***WWC***), *The London-Lund Corpus* (***LLC***), *The Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (***CSPAE***) and *The Wellington Spoken Corpus* (***WSC***). The selection of these nine corpora is justified on the following grounds:

(a) Firstly, they are representative of four different geographical areas, so that I can compare British English with overseas varieties, such as American English, Australian English or New Zealand English. In this respect, the present piece of research differs considerably from earlier studies on the topic, in which national varieties such as Australian and New Zealand English are not taken into consideration. To my knowledge, no other investigation into the variation between full negatives and their contracted counterparts offers such an extensive dialectal coverage.

(b) Secondly, the selection of BrE and AmE corpora from the 1960s and the 1990s allows me to study potential changes in the trends of distribution of

full negative forms and their contracted variants over the three last decades of the twentieth century. As Mair (2002: 106) puts it, a period of 30 years "is usually considered the minimum period required to clearly identify and document linguistic change in real time."

(c) Thirdly, a large diversity of text-types in both the written and spoken media are represented in the selected corpora, from very formal registers, such as learned and scientific writings or judge's summations, to less formal ones, such as fictional texts or telephone conversations between personal friends. As Palacios Martínez (2003: 486) puts it, "in order for a corpus to be wholly representative of the language it should contain as many registers as possible"

(d) Finally, the present piece of research also offers a more extensive coverage of the facts than other studies on the same topic concerning the large amount of data examined, 24,708 examples in all, from a corpus of 8,426,000 running words.

A brief description of each of the nine corpora selected for the analysis is provided in Sections III.1.1. and III.1.2. In turn, Section III.1.3. is devoted to the discussion of some of the problems I have found in the compilation and analysis of the data.

The point of departure of Section III.2. is the discussion of a number of negative forms which have been excluded from the total count. These comprise

cases of subclausal negation (Section III.2.1.), neutralised forms (Section III.2.2.), negative forms of *shall* (Section III.2.3.) and *had better/would rather* (Section III.2.4.) and other exclusions not included in any of the preceding groups (Section III.2.5.).

The central section of the second part of the study is devoted to the detailed analysis of the data drawn from the nine selected corpora (Section III.3.). First of all, I provide an overview of the data obtained from each of the corpora as regards the use of uncontracted negatives versus negative contractions. However, a number of examples have to be examined on their own, since interchangeability between the three alternatives of negation is not always possible. In other words, the three forms to negate are not true variants in all cases. The aim of Section III.3.2. is precisely that of examining these so-called knockout contexts. It is worth noting here that, in most of the earlier studies on the topic, these contexts which do not allow free interchangeability between the three variants at issue are not distinguished from those cases in which the variants are true alternatives. Once knockout environments have been excluded, Sections III.3.4. and III.3.5. analyse the selection of full forms, OpeCs and NotCs as true variants in each of the nine selected corpora individually. Since the distribution of the variant forms is not random, but may be determined by different conditioning factors, my analysis will pay special attention to such determinants of variation as the following:

(a) **Dialect**: BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE.

(b) **Date of compilation of the texts**: 1960s versus 1990s for both BrE and AmE.

(c) **Text-type:** the selection of uncontracted negatives and negative contractions not only in written vs. spoken material, but also taking into account the different degrees of formality of the texts included in the nine selected corpora.

(d) **Type of operator**: *be*, *have*, *will* and *would*.

(e) **Type of subject**: variation between full forms and contractions depending on whether the subject of the clause is a pronoun (simple or complex), a noun phrase (simple, complex or compound), an existential *there* or a clause.

A comparison of the results obtained from the analysis of the different corpora is offered in Section III.3.6. Such a comparison allows us to investigate the differences and similarities among corpora according to the following criteria:

(a) Diachronic comparisons from the 1960s to the 1990s in both written BrE (Section III.3.6.1.1.) and written AmE (Section III.3.6.1.2.).

(b) Dialectal comparisons between all the written corpora (Section III.3.6.2.1.) and all the spoken corpora (Section III.3.6.2.2.).

(c) Comparisons regarding medium, i.e. written BrE vs. spoken BrE (Section III.3.6.3.1.), written vs. spoken AmE (Section III.3.6.3.2.) and written vs. spoken NzE (Section III.3.6.3.3.).

In turn, in Section III.3.7., my data are compared with those obtained in related studies, such as those by Biber (1987), Hiller (1987), Kjellmer (1998) and Biber *et al*. (1999).

Finally, chapter IV closes the present piece of research by providing the reader with a number of concluding remarks on the topic of negative contractions versus uncontracted negatives in contemporary written and spoken English.

II. NEGATION AND NEGATIVE CONTRACTIONS IN ENGLISH

1. Some Preliminary Considerations

Most languages over the world have a two-term system of polarity, i.e. positive versus negative polarity. This study will be concerned with the latter type. In English, negative polarity can be divided into two main different classes: clausal and subclausal negation.[1] The former implies that kind of negation which affects the polarity of the clause as a whole, while in the latter the negation affects only a single word or phrase without making the whole clause negative. In accordance with this distinction, example (1b) below is the negative counterpart of (1a) and it is, thus, an example of clausal negation, where the negation affects the whole clause. By contrast, in (1c) the scope of negation is restricted to the adjective *untidy*; (1c) constitutes, therefore, an example of subclausal negation, the positive counterpart of (1d).

(1) a. *The room is tidy*
b. *The room is not tidy*
c. *The room is untidy*
d. *The room is not untidy*

[1] These labels are used by scholars such as Huddleston (1995: 419ff) or Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 789ff), among others. Other scholars prefer labels such as 'sentence vs. word negation' (Klima 1964: 247), 'nonaffixal negation vs. affixal negation' or 'sentence negation vs. constituent negation' (Tottie 1991: 49; Mazzon 2004: 2) and 'clause negation vs. local negation' (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 775; Biber *et al*. 1999: 175). It should also be noted that Quirk *et al*. (1985: 775) and Mazzon (2004: 97) distinguish a third type of negation, namely 'predication negation', as in the following example: *They may 'not go swimming* ['They are allowed not to go swimming'] (1985: 797) which is "a minor type applying only after certain auxiliaries, in which the predication is negated." Cf. also example (43b) in Section 3.2.2.2. below.

Following Klima (1964: 262ff), Quirk *et al*. (1985: 777f) and Huddleston (1995: 419ff), among others, two main criteria can be used to distinguish between clausal and subclausal negation:

(a) While clausal negation is followed by positive tag questions, as in (2a) below, subclausal negation is followed by negative tag questions, as in (2b).

(2) a. *The room is not tidy,* ***is it****?*
b. *The room is untidy,* ***isn't it****?*

(b) Clausal negation is followed by negative elements such as *nor/neither* or *either* in coordinate tags, while subclausal negation is followed by positive elements such as *so* or *too* (cf. (3) below).

(3) a. *The room is not tidy and* ***nor/neither*** *is his house*
b. *The room is untidy and* ***so*** *is his house*
c. *The room is not tidy and his house* ***either***
d. *The room is untidy and his house* ***too***

Examples (3a) and (3c) are clear instances of clausal negation, since the links in the coordinated tag are *nor/neither* and *either* respectively. By contrast, in examples (3b) and (3d), the coordinated tags exhibit *so* and *too* respectively, thus being instances of subclausal negation. Of these two types of negation, the present study will be restricted to the analysis of clausal negation.

As seen in example (1b) above, clausal negation is basically expressed in English by means of the negative particle *not* placed after the first operator.[2] Clausal negation can also be conveyed through the negative items *no* or *never*, as in examples (4a-b) below.

(4) a. *There is **no** sugar*
b. *He has **never** studied French*

The different operators which can be followed in PDE by the negative particle *not* are: all the forms of the operators *be*, *have* and *do* (*am, is, are, was, were, have, has, had, do, does* and *did*)*, will, would, shall, should, can, could, must, may, might*, *dare, need*, *ought to* and *used to*. The combination of these operators and the negator *not* without resort to contractions will be termed here '**uncontracted negatives**' or '**full forms**'.[3] Alternatively, negative clauses in English can show contracted forms of two different types:

(a) '**Operator contractions**',[4] where, the operator is reduced and attached to the preceding word, while the negator *not* appears in its full form. As a consequence of this, the stress is on the negator, not on the operator. Some examples of operator contraction are the following: *'s not* (for both *is not*

[2] In the present study the term 'operator' will be used to refer to all types of auxiliary verbs and to the verbs *be* and *have* also functioning as lexical verbs.
[3] The terms 'uncontracted negatives' and 'full forms' are, by far, the most common in the literature on the topic. However, Jacobson (1980: 50), Huddleston (1995: 420) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 799) refer to uncontracted negatives as '**main-verb negation**', '**analytic negation**' and '**analytic primary negation**' respectively.
[4] Biber *et al.* (1999: 165) use this label in their grammar. Alternative terms are: '**auxiliary reduction**' (Zwicky 1970: 327), '**auxiliary-(verb) contraction**' (Pullum & Wilson 1977: 743; Dillard 1980: 386; Jacobson 1980: 50; Anderwald 2002: 72; Tagliamonte & Smith 2002: 251; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 83), '**auxiliary cliticisation**' (López-Couso 2006a), '**Not forms**' (Hiller 1987: 534ff), '**verb contraction**' (Kjellmer 1998: 155; Westergren 1998: 34ff). Quirk *et al.* use the term '**AuxC**' (1985: 1595ff) besides '**contracted verb form**' (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 141f). The latter label is also used by scholars such as Bolinger (1972: chapter 5) or Leech & Svartvik (1975: 246).

and *has not*), *'d not* (for both *had not* and *would not*) or *'ll not* (for both *will not* and *shall not*).

(b) '***Not*-contractions**',[5] where, the negative particle *not* is reduced to *n't,* losing its stress and being fused with the operator.[6] Instances of this kind of contraction are *aren't*, *haven't* or *hadn't*.

Table 1 below shows the distribution of uncontracted negatives, operator contractions and *not*-contractions in PDE for the operators mentioned above. Notice that some of them do not allow the three alternative ways of negation. As can be seen, the *not*-contraction type is, in principle, allowed by the 16 operators, while operator contraction is only admitted by the operators *be* (in its present forms), *have*, *will*, *would* and *shall*. This distinction proves to be particularly relevant to the present study, since our analysis will be restricted to those operators which allow interchangeability between the three kinds of clausal negation (cf. Section III.3.3. below).

[5] The term '*not*-contraction' is used by scholars such as Ali (1970: 73); Zwicky (1970: 327); Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1595ff); Kjellmer (1998: 155); Westergren (1996: 5ff, 1998: 34ff); Biber *et al*. (1999: 165); Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 83). Other labels used to refer to this type of contraction are: '**contracted negative**' (Leech & Svartvik 1975: 246; Anderwald 2002: 72), '**contracted negation**' (Culicover 1976: 129; Dillard 1980: 386), '**negative contraction**' (Pullum & Wilson 1977: 743; Tagliamonte & Smith 2002: 251), '**N'T forms**' (Hiller 1987: 534ff), '**inflectional negation**' (Huddleston 1995: 420), '**synthetic primary negation'** (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 799) and '**negative cliticisation**' (López-Couso 2006a). As shall be seen in Section III.2.4., Jacobson (1980: 50) uses the term '**modal negation**' to refer to NotC with the semimodals *had better* and *would rather*.

[6] The fact that negators are attracted to all kinds of operators is what Labov (1972: 777) calls '**negative attraction'** ('Negattrac').

Table 1. Types of operator negation in PDE[7]

OPERATORS	UncN		OpeC	NotC
BE	PRESENT			
	1st p.sg.	*am not*	*'m not*	*aren't/ain't/amn't*
	3rd p.sg.	*is not*	*'s not*	*isn't/(ain't)*
	2nd p./1st & 3rd p.pl.	*are not*	*'re not*	*aren't/(ain't)*
	PAST			
	1st & 3rd p.sg.	*was not*		*wasn't*
	2nd p./1st & 3rd p.pl.	*were not*		*weren't*
HAVE	PRESENT			
	3rd p.sg.	*has not*	*'s not*	*hasn't /(ain't)*
	1st & 2nd p./3rd p.pl.	*have not*	*'ve not*	*haven't/(ain't)*
	PAST			
	All persons	*had not*	*'d not*	*hadn't*
DO	PRESENT			
	3rd p.sg.	*does not*		*doesn't/(ain't)*
	1st & 2nd p./3rd p.pl.	*do not*		*don't/(ain't)*
	PAST			
	All persons	*did not*		*didn't/(ain't)*
WILL	All persons	*will not*	*'ll not*	*won't*
WOULD	All persons	*would not*	*'d not*	*wouldn't*
SHALL	All persons	*shall not*	*'ll not*	*shan't*[8]
SHOULD	All persons	*should not*		*shouldn't*
CAN	All persons	*cannot*		*can't*
COULD	All persons	*could not*		*couldn't*
MUST	All persons	*must not*		*mustn't*
MAY	All persons	*may not*		(*mayn't*)
MIGHT	All persons	*might not*		(*mightn't*)
DARE	All persons	*dare not*		*daren't*
NEED	All persons	*need not*		*needn't*
OUGHT TO	All persons	*ought not to*		*oughtn't to*
USED TO	All persons	*used not to*		(*usen't*) *to*

[7] Forms between brackets can be used to some degree in English, although they are not accepted by all grammarians.

[8] It is generally acknowledged (e.g. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 122) that the form *shan't* for *shall not* is now virtually non-existent in AmE, while in BrE it is becoming rare. This is so because, even in affirmative clauses, *shall* is restricted to very few expressions.

2. A Note on the History of Clausal Negation and Negative Contractions in English

The English system of negation has undergone considerable changes from OE to PDE. These changes are normally classified according to the different periods in the history of the language or according to the different stages of what has been called '**the negative cycle**' (cf. Mazzon 1993: 114, 2004: 5 or Anderwald 2002: 19). As Schwenter (2006) states, the term 'cycle' in this context was apparently first used by Östen Dahl in his 1979 article "Typology of sentence negation," although the idea had already been formulated by Jespersen (1917: 4) in the following terms:

> The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

According to Beukema & Mišeska (1995: 123), I will distinguish five different stages in the history of clausal negation in English.

STAGE 1

The first stage corresponds to the OE period. At that time clausal negation was expressed by the negative particle *ne*, which was placed immediately before the auxiliary verb, if there was one, otherwise immediately before the lexical verb, as in (5a-b) below. In accordance with this, it can be said that negation in OE presents the typical pattern of OV languages, since the negator is placed before the finite verb (cf. Ohkado 1989: 1).

(5) a. *ic* ***ne*** *can secgan* 'I cannot say'
b. *ic* ***ne*** *secge* 'I do not say'

As regards negative contractions, in OE the negative particle *ne* could be fused with the verbs *habban* 'have' and some forms of *bēon/wesan* 'be', together with a number of verbs belonging to the preterite-present group, namely *agan* 'owe', *willan* 'will' and *witan* 'know' (cf. Denison 1993: 449, among others). The phonological precondition for such contractions was that the form following *ne* began with a vowel, /h/ or /w/[9] (cf. Hogg 1992: 187ff, among others). The most frequent OE verbal contractions are the following:

nabban	(< *ne* + *habban* 'have')
nad	(< *ne* + *had*)
nagan	(< *ne* + *agan* 'owe')
nam	(< *ne* + *am*)
nart	(< *ne* + *art*)
nas	(< *ne* + *was* or *ne* + *has*)[10]
nere(n)	(< *ne* + *were(n)*)
nillan	(< *ne* + *willan* 'will')
nis	(< *ne* + *is*)
nolde	(< *ne* + *wolde* 'would')
nytan	(< *ne* + *witan* 'know')
not	(< *ne* + *wot* 'knew')

[9] The rule, however, did not apply to other verbs beginning with a vowel, /h/ or /w/. For instance, the verb *unnan* 'grant' did not allow negative contraction with *ne* (cf. Warner 1993: 151). Similarly, as Levin (1958: 493) points out, the contraction **neorðan* (< *ne* + *weorðan*) is not recorded in OE.

[10] The form *nas*, derived from the fusion between *ne* and *has*, is only mentioned by Jespersen (1917: 12).

On the other hand, the negative particle *ne* could also be fused with some adverbial elements, such as *a* 'ever', *æfre* 'ever', *awiht* 'anything' and *æning* 'any', to produce negative-incorporated forms such as the following (cf. Mazzon 2004: 29ff):

na	(< *ne* + *a*) 'no'
nafre	(< *ne* + *æfre*) 'never'
nawiht	(< *ne* + *awiht*) 'nothing'
nænig	(< *ne* + *æning*) 'none'

The negative verbal contractions mentioned above were apparently more commonly used in late OE than in early OE, as Fulk (1992: 122ff) points out (reference from Iyeiri 2001: 6). According to existing studies on the topic, in late OE the choice between negative contractions and their uncontracted counterparts was mainly conditioned by dialect areas, West-Saxon texts showing a higher frequency of contractions than Mercian and Northumbrian texts (Levin 1958: 495). Nevertheless, other factors, such as syntactic or stylistic determinants (cf. Blockley 1988, 1990 and Jack 1999, among others), also played a role. As concerns negative contractions and syntactic conditions in OE, the type of clause seems to have had some bearing on the selection of either contracted or uncontracted negatives. Thus, for example, existential clauses favoured in OE the use of contracted forms (cf. López-Couso 2002, 2006b: 177ff), a tendency also found in later stages (cf. Iyeiri 1995: 425, among others). In an instance like (6) below, the interchangeability between the uncontracted form (*ne wæs*) and the

contraction (*næs*) is, in principle, allowed. However, the fact that the clause is an example of the existential type favours the use of the negative contraction.

(6) *ac Þær **næs** nan mann ðe þone hlaf him betwynan tobræce*
'but, there was no man who would break the loaf into pieces among them' (ÆC Hom ii 400.24, from Mitchell 1985: §1494)

As regards stylistic conditions, it must be noted that the selection between contracted and uncontracted forms in OE poetry could be conditioned by syllable count and/or alliteration, which was compulsory in each line of the poem (see example (7) below).

(7) *Þat he **ne wolde***[11] | *wereda drihtness*
'So that he did not want the hosts of the Lord'
(GenB 352, from Mitchell 1985: §1131)

In this example, the poet did not make use of the negative contracted form *nolde*, in order to maintain the only alliteration existing in the line, ***w**ereda* with ***w**olde*.

STAGE 2

From lOE to the ME period, the negative particle *ne* could be reinforced by a postverbal negative item, namely *not*, as illustrated in example (8) below.

(8) *i **ne** seye **not*** 'I do not say (at all)'

The adverb *not* derives from OE *ne ... a ... wiht*, meaning 'not a man', which later becomes *nōwiht*/*nāwiht*. Then, *nōwiht* and *nāwiht* are contracted to *nouht/nauht* respectively, and finally reduced to *not* (cf. Berndt 1989: 168ff or Tottie 1991: 234, among others).

[11] Here *wolde* functions as a lexical verb.

Originally the construction with preverbal *ne* and postverbal *not* seems to have been an emphatic form of negation, meaning 'not at all'. In other words, the use of *not* in addition to *ne* apparently arose as a way of reinforcing the expression of negation. Following Jack (1978: 296ff), the choice of either *ne* alone or *ne ... not* at this stage could be:

(a) A semantic question, in view of the fact that sometimes *not* retained its original meaning and, thus, the *ne ... not* sequence was more emphatic than the unsupported *ne* construction.

(b) A syntactic question, since, according to Jack's Law,[12] the construction *ne ... not*, as a rule, was not used in those negative clauses which already contained other negative expressions, such as *neuer* 'never', *nafre* 'never' or *nan* 'no', as in example (6) above. Moreover, while *ne ... not* predominated in declarative and imperative clauses, unsupported *ne* was preferred in interrogative clauses. Finally, according to Horn (1989: 459), the *ne ... not* sequences of OE seem to have appeared most freely in contexts of contrast, of prohibition or of affirmative/negative opposition.

In the course of time, the multiple negation construction[13] with *ne* and *not* greatly increased in frequency and is assumed to have lost more and more of its original emphatic force. Thus, it could become the norm in non-emphatic negative clauses (cf. Jespersen 1917: 62ff; Traugott 1992: 170). Nevertheless, this idea is

[12] Term used by Laing (2002).
[13] Also known as negative concord (cf. Anderwald 2002: 101ff).

not accepted by scholars such as Carlton (1970: 70) or Strang (1970: 312), among others, for whom preverbal *ne* continues to be the norm at this time.

As regards contracted forms, at this stage of the history of the English language, contraction was still restricted to the fusion of the preverbal negative particle *ne* with some adverbs and verbal forms, as in Stage 1 above, since the postverbal negator *not* was simply used to reinforce the negative polarity of the clause.

As in Stage 1, the choice between uncontracted negation and its contracted counterpart seems to have been conditioned by different factors, the most important ones being, once again, dialectal considerations.[14] Thus, according to Levin (1958: 498) or Iyeiri (1995: 424), among others, Southern — with the exception of Kentish — and West Midlands dialects favour the use of contractions to a greater extent than East Midlands and Northern areas.[15] Moreover, stylistic and syntactic conditions also played a role in the selection of one or the other type of negation, as already mentioned for the previous stage. For instance, according to Iyeiri (2001: 177f), existential clauses favour the use of contracted forms, as in example (9) below, where preverbal *ne* is contracted with the form *is*.

(9) *þer* ***nis*** *no lawe in oure land* 'there isn't law in our land' [16]

[14] In Levin's words, "the distribution of contraction/noncontraction is dialectally disposed" (1958: 493).
[15] This contrasts starkly with Mazzon's (2004: 31) claims that in the south there is a tendency to avoid contractions.
[16] Example taken from Iyeiri (2001: 178).

The selection of contracted and uncontracted forms is also related to the position of the elements in the clause. In this connection, Iyeiri (2001: 182) mentions that negative elements in clause-final position favour the uncontracted variant, as in example (10) below, where preverbal *ne* is not contracted with *wisten*.

(10) *her hi* ***ne*** *wisten* 'Here they did not know'

Finally, it must be noted that the frequency of negative contractions with the negator *ne* was reduced, little by little, in the course of the ME period (cf. Jespersen 1954: 426, or López-Couso (2007), among others), due to the decreasing use of *ne* as a negative marker. However, as Mazzon (1993: 115ff, 2004: 32) or López-Couso (2007) point out, the contractions *nis* and *nill* were still used in the ME period, and even survived into eModE.[17] The survival of these forms is closely related to frequency, inasmuch as "the most frequent contracted verbal forms [...] were also the ones that survived longer in the language" (López-Couso 2007).

STAGE 3

The next step in the history of negation in English concerns the gradual loss of the preverbal particle *ne*. The reasons for its disappearance are probably several. However, scholars like Traugott (1972: 147) are mainly in favour of questions of stress. *Ne* seems to have always been unstressed, hence the elision of its vowel with certain verbs and certain adverbial elements (cf. Stage 1 above). Thus, a

[17] Remnants of the contracted form *nill* can still be found in PDE in the expression *willy-nilly* (cf. Jespersen 1954: 426; Greenberg 1978: 173; Lass 1992: 141f; Denison 1993: 309).

more distinguishable marker, phonologically speaking, was needed, namely the postverbal particle *not*. This favoured the disappearance of the preverbal adverb *ne* in favour of *not*. Since the fourteenth century *not* took over the entire negative function and came to be considered the only way to mark clausal negation (cf. example (11) below) (cf. Jespersen 1917: 9, 1954: 427, or Berndt 1989: 168ff, among many others). Nevertheless, in lME in some texts from the Southeast region of England, the construction *ne ... not* and that with unsupported *ne* were still frequently used, due to the highly conservative character of the dialects of this area (cf. Fischer 1992: 280ff).

(11) *I say* ***not***

In this way, in ME times the original negative pattern where the negator is placed preverbally gave way to a pattern with a postverbal negator, another sign that the structure of English was changing from OV to VO.

The changes outlined so far for ME implied a process of reanalysis by means of which *not*, originally an optional element used only for emphasis, became a compulsory element in negation. *Not* also suffered a process of grammaticalisation, developing from a negative adverb into a negative particle which could, in due course, be attached to the verb (cf. Stage 5 below).

As a consequence of the disappearance of the preverbal particle *ne*, the number of negative contractions in this period was reduced little by little (cf. Stage 2 above). However, some of them were still frequently used, especially in Southern texts (cf. Levin 1958: 498ff).

STAGE 4

In the eModE period, some additional changes took place in the system of clausal negation. The first of these was supported by syntactic factors. As seen above, at Stage 3, the word order verb plus negator *not* was established as the norm. However, in eModE, the reverse order reappeared in the system, i.e. there was a growing tendency to place *not* before the finite verb (cf. Jespersen 1917: 13, 1954: 428, or Mazzon 2004: 6, among many others), with the exception of *be* and *have*, with which *not* continued to be placed postverbally (cf. Denison 1993: 451). In this way, the structure of English negation changed again to the typical pattern of an OV language, with the negator before the finite verb (cf. Ohkado 1989: 6ff). Given that in eModE times the pattern VO was completely established in the English language, a new change was needed to re-establish the VO pattern in the system of negation. This favoured the emergence and generalisation of the so-called '*do*-support' in negative constructions in those cases in which no auxiliary verb was present (cf example (12a) below).

(12) a. *I* ***do not*** *say*

The generalisation of the 'dummy auxiliary' *do* took place in the course of the sixteenth century and it became increasingly common from the seventeenth century onwards (cf. Berndt 1989: 168ff, among others). However, the old pattern, i.e. finite verb plus *not* remained in the colloquial language until the late eighteenth century, specially with some high frequency verbs such as *know, say, mistake, matter,* and so on.

As regards contractions in this period, the negator *not*, losing its stress and tone, came to be fused with the operator to form contractions of the type shown in (12b) below, that is, the NotC variant.

(12) b. *I **don't** say*

Following Jespersen (1917: 117), most linguists agree that this type of negative contraction emerged in speech around 1600 and in writing around the year 1650 (cf. Strang 1970: 151f, Barber 1976: 254 or Haugland 1995: 170f, among others). Nevertheless, Denison (1993: 309) and the evidence provided by the *OED* (s.vv. *shall* and *will* v. 1, 6b) show that certain forms of contractions of an operator with a following *not* are already recorded from the fifteenth century (cf. ex. (13) below).

(13) c1420 *Chron. Vilod.* 2147 *How* […] *Sathanas Dude hurre Þere lette wt alle his my● t, Þat he **shulnot** haue come to Þat ioyfulle place*
'How […] Satanas made her let out with all his might there, that he shouldn't have come to that joyful place' (*OED*, s.v. *shall* v. A, II, 9b)

However, forms like *shulnot* in example (13) above are considered by scholars such as Brainerd (1993: 177) or Warner (2005: 275f) as cases of portmanteau forms rather than instances of NotCs proper. According to Brainerd (1993: 181) the development of such forms took place during the ME period:

> Assuming a stress on the first syllable, it is not difficult to see that the vowel might weaken, metathesize with *n* and be lost some time after 1400 and, […] before 1630, when the first concrete evidences of *n't* began to appear.

Brainerd (1993: 176ff) also demonstrates that negative contractions in drama appeared in the early 1620s and that they were introduced "from regionally or socially nonstandard versions of the language" (1993: 184) for comic effect in the speech of bucolic characters. However, such contractions were still regarded at that time as "not quite respectable." He also shows that the first clear evidence of the reduction of *not* into *n't* dates from 1621 (1993: 183). This reduction was a consequence of the weakening of the vowel /o/ in unstressed position, when *not* was joined to the preceding operator.

At this stage of the language, contractions of the operator and the subject also occurred to form the OpeC variant. Contracted forms of this kind appeared in writing a few years earlier than the NotC type. According to the *OED*, the OpeC of *will*, which is the earliest form recorded, dates from 1610 (cf. *OED* s. vv. *will* v. 1, 5b), as shown in example (14) below. However, scholars such as Jespersen (1917: 117) mention that the first occurrences of the OpeC in affirmative clauses date from the late sixteenth century, in Shakespeare's writings.

(14) 1610 Heywood Gold Age i. i ***I'le not*** *kill my part* (*OED*, s.v. *will* v.[1] 5b)

STAGE 5

As already mentioned for the previous stage, from the seventeenth century onwards, the only productive pattern of negation in the language has been that of operator plus *not* (cf. Denison 1998: 92ff). Since the beginning of lModE the use of contractions with *not*, as in example (12) above, has been increasing, though in the eighteenth century contractions were still considered unsuitable for writing,

being described in grammars and spelling books of the time as improper, vulgar, colloquial, inelegant, barbarous, harsh and ungrammatical (cf. Sundby *et al*. 1991: 162ff). As Sundby *et al*. (1991: 161) mention

> […] our grammarians are generally sceptical of contracted forms, they do not reject them indiscriminately. Their acceptability is often seen to depend on genre and style, thus concessions are made, although reluctantly, to their use in poetry and familiar style.

Moreover, taking into account the individual forms, not all of them behave in the same way, since the contracted forms *I'm* and *I'll* seem to be preferred to their uncontracted variants *I am* and *I will*, respectively (cf. Sundby *et al*. 1991: 161). Nevertheless, it was in the course of the nineteenth century that the use of contractions became generally accepted (cf. Brainerd 1993: 191). This is corroborated by López-Couso's (2006a) article, where she analyses the BrE data included in the four 50-year subperiods corresponding to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the *ARCHER* corpus, comprising different kinds of texts, such as drama, fictional dialogue, medical research articles, personal letters, and so on. She comes to the conclusion that full forms predominate over contractions in all text-types analysed, although contracted forms have been increasing in frequency in the course of time, their rise being "especially noticeable in the second half of the nineteenth century" (2006a). She also mentions that contractions are particularly frequent in those written texts more closely related to the spoken language, such as drama and fiction. As regards the distribution of the two kinds of contractions, the data in *ARCHER* also show that there is a clear predominance of OpeCs over NotCs in all the text-types analysed with the operator *be*, while with the *have*-operator, the reverse holds true.

In PDE, the use of contractions tends to be associated with the spoken language. In writing, although their frequency has increased considerably, the use of contractions is not well accepted by all grammarians. As Mazzon (2004: 105) mentions, "they are still normally avoided in the higher registers." However, the selection of contracted forms may, in principle, be "left largely to the caprices of individual authors and printers" (Potter 1969: 143).

3. Uncontracted Forms vs. Operator Contractions vs. *Not*-contractions in PDE

The aim of this section is to provide some information about different intrasystemic and extrasystemic factors which, either alone or in combination,[18] determine the selection of full negative forms vs. contracted ones, on the one hand (cf. 3.1. below), and on the other, the choice between NotC and OpeC (cf. 3.2. below) for those operators which allow the two types of contractions outlined in Section 1 above.

3.1. Full Forms vs. Contracted Forms

Uncontracted and contracted negative forms are not randomly distributed in PDE. As seen in Section 2 above, their choice is determined, in principle, by a number of factors, such as text-type, dialect, social stratification, gender and age distinctions and various structural factors. Moreover, the selection between full forms and contractions is also related to questions of emphasis. Thus, according to

[18] As Rydén (1979: 12, fn 2) states, "factors usually operate in combination."

Bolinger (1972: 116f) and Jespersen (1954: 437), the uncontracted negative is much more emphatic than the contracted counterparts. In view of this, example (15a) is more emphatic than either (15b) or (15c).

(15) a. *I would not do that*
b. *I'd not do that*
c. *I wouldn't do that*

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 800) also mention the relevance of emphasis for the choice between the three variants under consideration. They claim that, in many conversational contexts, full forms sound unnatural and, thus, contractions seem to be preferable (cf. Section 3.1.1. below). However, in order to put emphasis on the negative particle *not*, then, uncontracted negation is selected instead.

In the following sections those features which condition the selection of uncontracted forms and contracted ones will be analysed in detail.

3.1.1. Contractions and Text-Types

The selection of uncontracted and contracted negative forms depends, to a large extent, on the type of text in which they appear. Scholars such as Fries (1940: 8) or Forsheden (1983: 36) claim that the frequency of contractions is higher in spoken texts, such as Conversation, than in written ones. Thus, as mentioned in Section 2 above, in contemporary English, contractions are considered unsuitable for writing and are specially used in colloquial speech. Linguists such as Biber (1988: 243), among others, have explained their frequent use in conversation as a consequence of fast and easy production. The degree of formality of a given text

also conditions the selection of contractions or uncontracted forms, since the former are more commonly used in informal registers (cf. Leech & Svartvik 1975: 207; Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123ff; Kjellmer 1998: 160f; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 80ff; Castillo-González 2003: 677ff).

Biber (1987) studied the use of negative contractions in different types of texts taken from the *Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus* (*LOB*) and the *BROWN Corpus*. These corpora contain written BrE and AmE texts, respectively, from the 1960s, but with different degrees of formality. For his analysis, Biber selected nine categories out of the 15 contained in these corpora. I have included the data he obtained from his analysis in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Biber's (1987) frequencies of the use of contractions in AmE and in BrE in different text-types[19]

BRITISH ENGLISH	TYPE OF TEXT	AMERICAN ENGLISH
1.8	**Press**	21.1
0.8	**Editorials**	17.1
1.4	**Hobbies**	15.3
2.6	**Popular lore**	16.6
0.9	**Belle lettres**	14.9
0.0	**Official documents**	8.3
0.1	**Academic prose**	7.0
11.2	**General fiction**	28.6
19.0	**Romantic fiction**	46.1

The most immediate insight to be gained from the data in Table 2 is that AmE makes use of negative contractions to a greater extent than BrE in all text-types analysed, "apparently because of greater attention to grammatical prescriptions by

[19] It should be noted that Biber (1987) uses mean frequencies.

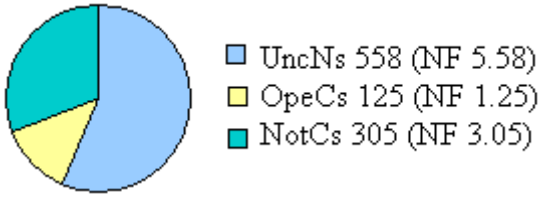
British writers" (Biber 1988: 243) (cf. Section 3.1.2. below). Moreover, both in BrE and in AmE, contractions are very scarcely found in Official documents and Academic prose. However, AmE uses more negative contractions in texts of this kind than BrE, negative contractions in BrE Official documents and Academic prose being practically non-existent. By contrast, Romantic fiction favours the use of negative contractions, not only in AmE, where the frequency of contractions is the highest among all the different texts included in Table 2 above, but also in BrE.

Biber's findings are corroborated, in general, by the data obtained in Castillo-González (2003: 678ff) for the operator *be* in AmE and BrE from the 1960s, since the former variety favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than BrE. In this study, the data are taken from all categories of the *LOB* and *BROWN* corpora. As in Biber's analysis, the most formal text-types, such as Miscellaneous (Cat H) or Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), are those in which contractions occur less frequently, while the most informal categories favour the occurrence of contracted forms. However, in Popular lore (Cat F), General fiction (Cat K) and Romance and love story (Cat P), Castillo-González's data for *be* differ from those of Biber's, since contractions are more frequent in BrE than in AmE in these text-types.

Kjellmer (1998) also investigated the use of contractions in written BrE texts from the 1960s, as represented in the *LOB* corpus. In Kjellmer's data,

uncontracted forms are preferred to contracted ones, as illustrated in my Figure 1 below (Kjellmer 1998: 180).

Figure 1. Distribution of negative forms in Kjellmer's (1998) analysis of the *LOB* corpus[20]



He also mentions that contractions are practically non-existent in the most formal categories (Categories H and J) (only one example of NotC in Cat H and four instances of OpeCs vs. 16 occurrences of NotC in Cat J), while, in the fictional text-types (from category K to R), they are rather frequently used, with the exception of Science fiction (Cat M), where the number of contracted forms is lower than in the other fictional categories. In this respect, as Kjellmer (1998: 171) mentions, Cat M "has close affinities" with the Learned and scientific writing category (Cat J). As Gunn (2006) states, "[s]cience fiction works differently from other written categories" due to the difficulty to read texts of this kind. The language used in such texts is rather technical, as shown in example (16) below.

(16) *monopole magnet mining operations in the outer asteroid belt of Delta Cygni* (cited by Gunn 2006; taken from Samuel R. Delany's MLA presentation)

[20] The normalised frequencies given in brackets are mine.

In the non-fictional category F (Popular lore), by contrast, the number of contracted forms, namely NotCs, is the highest among the most formal categories. Once again, the degree of formality of the texts proves to be a crucial factor to be borne in mind when studying the variation between different types of negative forms.[21]

Biber *et al.* (1999) have also analysed the use of negative contractions in a selection of texts from the *LSWE Corpus*, including different registers, such as Conversation, Fiction, News and Academic prose. These authors come to the conclusion that uncontracted negatives are virtually the only choice in Academic prose, while NotCs are more frequently used firstly in Conversation, secondly in Fiction and thirdly in News (1999: 159ff). Similarly, OpeCs are most likely to occur not only in Conversation, but also in written registers with some connotations of the spoken style, such as Fiction writings. As Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129) explain, "the common occurrence of contractions in fiction and (to a lesser extent) in news can be largely explained by the direct reporting of spoken discourse in those registers."

Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 91; 800) also mention the choice between contracted and uncontracted negative forms in relation to the type of text. They claim that "contractions are felt to be informal, and are generally avoided in the most formal styles, especially in writing" (2002: 21), not being used, therefore, in "solemn contexts or in some kinds of written (especially published) language"

[21] A detailed analysis of the selection between OpeCs and NotCs in Kjellmer (1998)'s study in relation to text-type will be provided in Section 3.2.3.1. below.

(2002: 800). However, they also mention that contractions are not completely excluded from academic prose, and sometimes they are used in texts of this kind to intensify intimacy, familiarity and accessibility among the audience. By contrast, in conversation the selection of uncontracted negative forms instead of contractions may sound unnatural and speakers tend to use them as a way of giving emphasis on the negative particle.

Finally, scholars such as Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 81ff) also claim that full forms are the preferred negative variant in what they call 'informative registers', which include news, tutorials or written descriptive texts. By contrast, 'interactive registers', i.e. conversation or written dialogue, favour the use of contractions. Their study is based in a selection of AmE and BrE texts dated from 1814 to 2000, which comprise both written and spoken material and different registers, such as literary texts, telephone conversations or lectures, among others.

3.1.2. Contractions and Geographical Variation

From the very first pages of this study, geographical dialects have been mentioned in relation to the use of contractions, and it is time now to study contractions and geographical variation in more detail.

As seen in the previous section, contraction of *not* varies considerably from dialect to dialect. Thus, AmE accepts contraction of *not* in the written language to a greater extent than BrE does (cf. Biber 1987: 11f; Tottie 1991: 12;

Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 80ff; Castillo-González 2003: 678ff). In Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert's (2002: 83) study, the operators *be* and *will* are those which contract more often in BrE texts, while in AmE the highest frequency of contractions corresponds to the *be* and *have* operators, while the contracted variant with the operator *will* is practically non-existent. Moreover, it seems that in NzE there is an "apparent preference for uncontracted *not* in all contexts" (Hundt 1998: 125-129, taken from Mazzon 2004: 128).

The different NotCs available for the first person singular present indicative of the verb *be* (cf. Section 4.1. below) deserve special consideration when discussing geographical variation. Thus, in negative interrogatives the form *aren't* is commonly used in BrE, while in AmE and in other varieties of English, by contrast, *ain't* is preferred (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 129; 1989: 375, among others). However, in declarative sentences, the form *ain't* as the contraction of *am not* is also accepted in BrE (Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 83). It must be noted, however, that both *ain't* and *aren't* are associated with dialectal or lower-class speech by some RP speakers (cf. Freeborn 1986: 12, and also Section 3.1.3. below). In turn, the form *Amn't I?* is used mainly in Scottish and Irish English, while in AmE it is non-existent (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 129 or Jørgensen 1979: 40). By contrast, in AmE *Aren't I?* is heard in New England and Upper Midwest and *Ain't I?* is considered 'standard' in North Central States and strongly popular and spreading elsewhere except in the Upper Midwest (cf. Malstrom 1963: 285ff or Hudson 1977: 79f).

Furthermore, in some Midland and Southern dialects, in Scotland, and in some dialects of AmE, the form *ain't* may also stand for *isn't, aren't, haven't* or *hasn't*, while in Black English, *ain't* also means *didn't* (cf. Section 4.1. below).

3.1.3. Contractions and Social Stratification

Contractions may also serve as social class markers. This is specially so with the form *ain't*. Thus, in England *ain't* is considered non-standard and illiterate, since it is used by lower class speakers and some educated people to indicate an informal register (cf. Jørgensen 1979: 38, Freeborn 1986: 12, or Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 82, among others). The use of *ain't* or *amn't* in questions is considered non-standard and illiterate by linguists such as Jespersen (1917: 120ff), Quirk *et al*. (1989: 8) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1611f). By contrast, in AmE *ain't* as a negative contraction of *be* is associated with the speech of middle level education (cf. Malmstrom 1963: 285). The association of *ain't* with different social classes in BrE and in AmE may go a long way towards explaining the high percentages obtained for this form in Hiller's AmE sample in contrast to the low proportion of the same form in BrE texts (cf. Section 4.1. below, Figures 7 and 8).

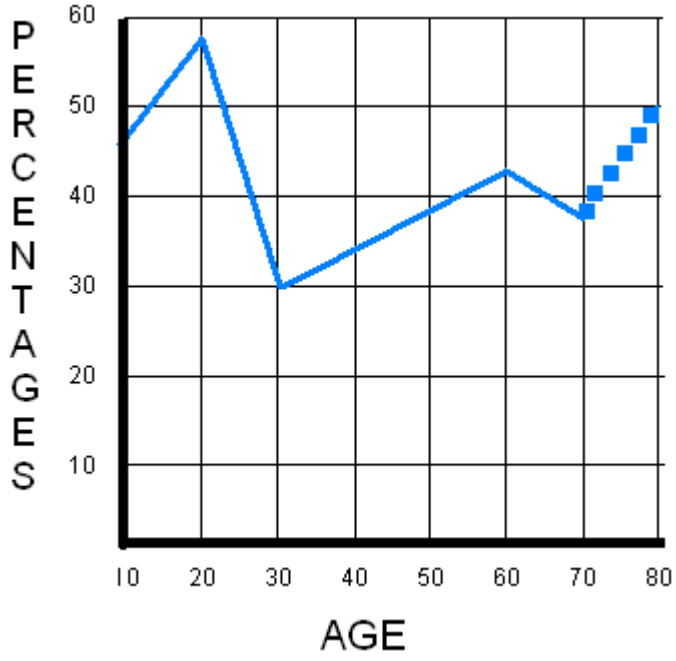
3.1.4. Contractions and Gender and Age Distinctions

According to Coates (1986: 119f), generally speaking, women tend to use contractions less frequently than men do, although women use them more frequently in question tags. The use of *ain't* also functions as a clearly distinctive

feature between boys and girls. Cheshire (1982: 51ff) reports that boys use *ain't* with higher relative frequency than girls, who try to avoid the use of such form, in order to imitate the upper classes.

As regards the age of the speaker, the highest proportion of contracted forms is obviously found among the youngest. See in this connection Figure 2 below, taken from Petyt's (1978: 95) analysis of the use of contractions in some towns of West Yorkshire, such as Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield. As the figure below indicates, speakers from ten to 20 use the highest proportion of contractions; at the age from 20 to 30 there is an important drop in the use of such forms, and from the thirties onwards the use of contractions rises little by little. Nevertheless, the percentage of contractions used from the thirties is never higher than 50%.

Figure 2. Percentage of contractions depending on age (from Petyt 1978)



3.1.5. Contractions and Structural Factors

A number of structural factors have also proved to have a direct bearing on the choice between negative contractions and full forms in English. Among these, we find the following:

1. One of the factors which plays a role in the selection between full forms and contracted ones is the type of clause where negation occurs. It has been shown that the incidence of contractions is much higher in interrogative and imperative clauses than in declarative ones (cf. Kjellmer 1998: 175ff; Westergren 1998: 135ff; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1131; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 85).[22] This is corroborated by scholars such as Kjellmer (1998: 175ff), who finds in his corpus a much higher proportion of negative contractions in interrogatives and imperatives clauses (93% and 92%, respectively) than in declaratives (only 32%). Besides, interrogative clauses tend to favour the use of contracted forms in almost all dialects with the exception of Scots and Tyneside English, where full forms predominate (cf. Aitken 1984: 106; Beal 1993: 199); cf. also Section 3.2.2.1. below). However, such a northern/southern distinction is not corroborated in Tagliamonte & Smith's (2002: 264f) data. According to these authors, the selection of one or the other form in the northern dialects depends on pragmatic issues: if the question requires a specific answer, the uncontracted negative is preferred, as shown in example (17a) below, where the speaker wants to hear an expanded explanation to the question, he/she hopes more than a yes-no answer; by

[22] The only verb relevant to imperatives is *do*, with which only UncN and NotC are possible.

contrast, if the question does not require such a specific answer, contractions are more common, as in example (17b) below, where the speaker knows that the person he/she is seeing is the hearer's mum and he/she expects for an affirmative answer.

(17) a. ***Will*** *they* ***not*** *come soon? No, they will come next month*
b. *That person over there…,* ***isn't*** *that your mum? Yes, you're right*

2. Contracted forms are also frequently used in question tags (cf. Jespersen 1917: 126; 1954: 438; Tagliamonte & Smith 2002: 259f; Hoffmann 2006: 12) (cf. also Section 3.2.2.1. below). However, scholars such as Beal (1993: 203) mention that the two variants in tags are "functionally distinguished": if the tag asks for information, as in (18a), the full form is selected, while if it simply asks for confirmation, as in (18b), the contracted negative variant predominates. [23]

(18) a. *She's late,* ***is she not?***
b. *She's late,* ***isn't she***?

3. For those verbs which can function both as auxiliaries and as lexical verbs, as *be* or *have*, contracted forms, which are "primarily a characteristic of auxiliaries" (Kjellmer 1998: 158), are, apparently, more widely used when they function as auxiliaries than when they are used as main verbs (cf. Sections 4.1. and 4.2. below and Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123; Kjellmer 1998: 158, 164, 172, among others). A plausible explanation for such a preference is closely related to the notion of frequency. As Kjellmer

[23] Examples under (18) are taken from Tagliamonte & Smith's (2002: 260).

(1998: 158) mentions, "auxiliaries are much more frequent than lexical verbs" and therefore, more likely to be affected by reductive processes. Kjellmer (1998: 158) also adds that "the more frequent an auxiliary is, the more often it is contracted." This accounts for the proportional differences of contracted forms with different verbs. Thus, for instance, in Kjellmer's data, the auxiliary *be*, which is the most frequent, is contracted 23% of all its occurrences, while contracted forms with *have* represent only 14% of the relevant forms.

Nevertheless, the general preference for contractions with *be* and *have* as auxiliaries discussed by Kjellmer (1998) is not accepted by all scholars. Thus, Philips & Reynolds (1987) maintain that with *be* contractions are more common when it functions as a main verb than when it is an auxiliary. Moreover, in Biber *et al*.'s (1999: 1129) data "contractions of *be* are more strongly associated with the copula and progressive constructions than with passive."[24] Finally Westergren's (1998: 148ff) data for the forms *are not*, *is not*, *was not* and *were not* also show that the proportion of contractions with *be* as a copular verb is higher than with *be* as an auxiliary.

4. Another important factor which is said to condition the selection of one negative form over its competitors is the type of subject used in the clause: while pronoun-subjects favour the occurrence of contractions, as in (19a)

[24] It should be noted, however, that Biber *et al*.'s (1999: 1129) data apply only to OpeCs of *be* and *have* in both affirmative and negative forms.

below, full forms are preferred with more complex subject types, as in (19b) (cf. Greenbaum 1977: 99; Kjellmer 1998: 161; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129, among many others). Once again, such a distinction is related to the notion of frequency discussed above: since pronominal subjects tend to be far more numerous than nominal subjects, contractions tend to be favoured with subjects of the former kind.[25]

(19) a. *You* ***wouldn't*** *do that*
b. *Your brother and your sister* ***would not*** *do that*

However, the preference for contractions with pronominal subjects does not hold true with all pronouns. Kjellmer (1998: 161f) demonstrates in his study that contractions are more frequent after certain pronouns, for example *I* and *you* (41% and 49%, respectively), while with other forms, such as *they* the frequency of contractions is considerably lower (only 9%). In this connection, Krug's (1998: 294) **string frequency**, that is, the frequency with which two or more items co-occur in a text, also plays an important role in the selection of contractions. In his analysis of the *London Lund Corpus* (*LLC*) and the spoken component of the *Bank of English Corpus* (*BEC*), Krug (1998: 294) observed that potentially contractible forms such as *I have*, which are far more numerous than combinations such as *where have*, are those which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent (77.9% in *LLC* and 82.8% in *BEC* for the

[25] The higher frequency of contractions with pronominal subjects also holds for the lModE period, as shown in López-Couso (2006a).

former string vs. 20% and 16.7% for the latter).[26] Krug then comes to the conclusion that "the more frequent a given string is in either database, the higher is its contraction ratio" (1998: 294).[27]

Moreover, Biber *et al*.'s findings show that the frequency of contracted forms after pronominal subjects also depends on the type of texts, since in Fiction and News the proportion of contractions with subjects of this kind amounts to 20%, while in Conversation it represents only 10%.

3.2. Operator Contractions vs. *Not*-contractions

Of the two types of negative contractions available for operators in PDE, NotC appears to be more frequent than OpeC (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123). As shall be seen in Section 4 below, NotCs are generally favoured with those operators which allow both types of contractions, except for the different forms of the verb *be*, with which OpeCs seem to predominate (cf., among others, Forsheden 1983: 27f; Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1596f; Biber *et al*. 1999: 166, 1129ff; Kortmann 2003: 70f). Thus,

(20) a. *I haven't* rather than *I've not*
b. *I won't* rather than *I'll not*
c. *I wouldn't* rather than *I'd not*
BUT d. *They're not* rather than *They aren't*

[26] Notice that Krug's (1998) analysis is not done only with negative contractions but also with positive, that is, he studies the use of the contracted forms such as *'ve*, *'s*, *'m* or *'re* with the preceding subject.
[27] Other scholars who have studied the effects of frequency on PDE contractions are, among others, Biber *et al*. (1999: 166f) and Bybee (2003: 617). López-Couso (2006a; and 2007) studies frequency effects in earlier stages of the language.

In my analysis of the selection between the two contracted types, the following topics will be discussed: (a) relevant theoretical considerations (cf. Section 3.2.1.), (b) the different constraints which block the selection of one of the two contracted types (cf. Section 3.2.2.) and, finally, (c) the factors which condition the choice of one of the two contracted forms (cf. Section 3.2.3).

3.2.1. Theoretical Considerations

The aforesaid general preference for NotCs in English can be explained as a result of the cross-linguistic predominance of suffixation over prefixation.

Most languages of the world seem to have a basic word order, that is, the normal order of elements in an 'unmarked' clause. This basic word order is established according to the way in which the three major components of clause structure, subject, verb and object, are organised. This notion was introduced by Greenberg in 1963, in his search for those properties which are common to all human languages by comparing data from a number of them. Greenberg established a series of linguistic universals based on some correlations between basic word order patterns and the order of elements within the NP and the VP, including the order of adjectives and relative clauses with respect to nouns, of auxiliaries relative to main verbs, of prepositions relative to nouns, as well as the placement of negative particles in relation to the finite verb and the use of affixes with respect to stems. According to Greenberg (1963), there are six possible types of languages: **SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV** and **OVS**, which can be simplified into **VO** and **OV** languages taking the order of verb and object as the central

criterion. As regards the position of negative items, negative particles tend to precede the finite verb in OV languages, while in VO languages they tend to be placed after the finite verb.

For years linguists have studied the frequency of affixes in different languages and most of them agree that there is a greater tendency for suffixation over prefixation in the languages of the world. The first scholar who explored the predominance of suffixes over prefixes was Greenberg in his 1957 article "Order of Affixing: A Study in General Linguistics." Later the topic has been examined in detail by linguists such as Cutler, Hawkins & Gilligan (1985), Hall (1988) or Hawkins & Cutler (1988). The tendency for suffixation had already been observed by Sapir (1921: 67), who wrote that "of the three types of affixing — the use of prefixes, suffixes and infixes — suffixing is much the commonest" (reference from Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990: 1). In order to prove that this is so, Cutler and his associates distinguish between lexical material, i.e. those lexemes which have a meaning of their own and cannot be divided into smaller units, and grammatical material, that is, those lexemes which need to be joined to other lexemes in order to have a meaning. Cutler and his colleagues argue that the optimal position for grammatical categories is after the lexical category which they modify. As a consequence of this, the process of affixation is considered to be phonological in nature, because grammatical categories involved in the process lose their independence, their stress and even, in certain cases, some phonological material (consonants or vowels). This weakening of grammatical categories

makes possible their fusion with other elements in the clause. For instance, operators can fuse with unstressed pronouns, yielding suffixes, as in (21) below.

(21) *They have > They've*

As already mentioned, grammatical categories tend to be fused with the lexical categories which precede them, and not with those which follow them. This might account for the overall tendency for suffixes over prefixes.

However, the distribution of prefixes and suffixes in a given language is related to the typological group to which the language in question belongs and is determined by two principles, following Cutler, Hawkins & Gilligan (1985: 727):

1. First principle: while prefixes occur productively only in languages where prepositions precede noun phrases (Pr + NP), i.e. VO languages, suffixes, by contrast, occur in languages where NPs precede postpositions (NP + Po), i.e. OV languages.

2. Second principle: the use of suffixing is favoured in both VO and OV languages.

In his 1963 study of 30 languages, Greenberg observed that there is a correlation between basic word order and morpheme order, as summarised in Table 3 below (Cutler, Hawkins & Gilligan 1985: 728). These data confirm the aforementioned overall preference for suffixation. In this respect, Cutler, Hawkins & Gilligan (1985: 723ff) offer an explanation based on the fact that words, like sentences, are processed from left to right, and argue that such a preference may

be explained because of the importance of the stem, which is considered the most 'salient' element of the word and is, therefore, placed before the grammatical elements. In this connection, Bybee (1985: 36f) argues that the combination between stem and affix represents a coherent conceptual unit, since affixation is a process by which a stem and a grammatical element come to be treated as a single word.

Table 3. Morpheme order correlations with verb and adposition order in Greenberg's (1963) sample (from Cutler, Hawkins & Gilligan 1985: 728)

	Prefix only	**Both**	**Suffix only**
Overall morpheme order and verb position			
VO	1	16	2
OV	0	1	10
Overall morpheme order and adposition order			
Pr + NP	1	15	0
NP + Po	0	2	12

The correlations with word order which appear to be possible between lexical and grammatical material are the following: Possessives tend to be attached to Nouns, **Negation** is attached to Verbs (operators), Aspect affixes, Voice affixes and also Person-marking affixes are attached to Verbs. Therefore, the fact that negation is attached to verbs may go a long way towards explaining the preference for NotCs over OpeCs mentioned above.

However, an obvious question arises here, namely, is the reduced form *n't* really an affix? This is a controversial issue, which will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The reduced form *n't* has been characterized in the literature on the topic in different ways. Thus, for instance, Quirk *et al*. (1989: 374) or Tottie (1991: 8), among others, refer to *n't* as a clitic. Alternatively, contracted *not* has been considered an affix by scholars such as Zwicky & Pullum (1982: 14) or Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 91, 801, 1610).

A clitic is normally defined as:

> an item which exhibits behaviour intermediate between that of a word and that of and affix. Typically, a clitic has the phonological form of a separate word, but cannot be stressed and is obliged to occupy a particular position in the sentence in which it is phonological bound to an adjoining word (Trask 1996: 46f).

In English, for instance, auxiliary verbs like *am, is, are, have, has, had, will, would* and *shall* are considered clitics, since their reduced forms, *'m, 's, 're, 've, 's, 'd, 'll, 'd* and *'ll* respectively, are attached to a preceding word, their **host**.

In contrast with this characterization of clitics, affixes are usually defined as those morphemes which are added or attached to roots to produce word-forms (i.e. inflectional affixes), for instance, the *-s* of the third person singular added to English verbs in the present indicative, or to produce a new lexeme (i.e. derivational affixes), for example, the affix *-ly* added to some adjectives to form adverbs (cf. Trask 1996: 46f).

Although clitics and affixes are, therefore, types of bound morphemes which can be attached to other morphemes, each class has a number of distinctive features of its own. The following paragraphs will be devoted to the main differences between clitics and affixes. As will be seen below, while the combinability between clitics and lexemes is governed by **syntactic** considerations, the conditions governing the combinability between affixes and stems are of a quite different sort, namely **morphological** and/or **lexical**. Following Zwicky & Pullum (1982: 3ff), four basic criteria are used here to distinguish between clitics and affixes:

1. Affixes are attached to lexical categories, such as verbs, nouns and adjectives. Thus, they exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems. On the contrary, clitics present a low degree of selection, since they can be attached to all kinds of words, as shown in (22) and (23) below.[28]

   (22) *The person I was talking **to's** going to be angry with me* (preposition)
   (23) *The ball you **hit's** just broken my dining room window* (verb)

2. Clitics tend to appear in the same position as their corresponding non-reduced counterparts, while affixes do not. Compare (24) with (22) above.

   (24) *The person I was talking **to is** going to be angry with me*

   This criterion, however, is not valid for all languages, since some languages have specific clitic positions. For instance, in West Greenlandic

[28] Examples taken from Zwicky & Pullum (1982: 5).

(example (25) below) clitics follow the first sentential constituent (Bauer 1988: 100).

(25) *tassa·gunq kangirlussuatsia·kkut umiar·passuit ilummukaa·pput*
that is·clitic (place name)·case-marker boat·many move-inwards·3rd person indicative
'Well, it is said many boats came inland by way of K (fjord)'

3. Clitics can join freely to words already containing clitics, while affixes cannot. See, in this connection, example (26), taken from Zwicky & Pullum (1982: 7), where the clitic *'ve* is attached to the clitic *'d.*

(26) ***I'd've*** *done it if you'd asked me*

4. Morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasies are characteristic of affixes but not of clitics. This means that hosts are unaffected by clitic groups. For instance, *I would like* and *I'd like* have the same meaning and the pronoun *I* is unaffected by the clitic *'d*, i.e. it shows the same form in both cases. By contrast, the English affix for the plural *-(e)s*, for example, changes both the meaning and also the form of the stem to which it is attached (e.g. *book* vs. *books*).

Once the different criteria for the identification of clitics and affixes have been stated, it is time to turn to the case of the contracted negator *n't*. As mentioned above, some linguists, such as Quirk *et al*. (1989: 374) or Tottie (1991: 8), view *n't* as a simple clitic, since it derives from the full form *not*. In this respect, the contraction of *not* into *n't* is analogous to the contractions of

auxiliaries like *am*, *are*, *is*, *have*, *has*, *had*, *will*, *shall* and *would*. Therefore, if they are clitics, *n't* should also be a clitic.

However, this analysis is controversial if I take into account the criteria stated above for clitics and affixes. According to criterion (1), namely that affixes present a high degree of selection with respect to their hosts, *n't* should be classified as an affix rather than as a clitic, since it can be attached only to operators, as the examples under (27) below (from Zwicky & Pullum 1982: 9) clearly demonstrate.[29]

(27) a. *I do**n't** try not to pay attention; I just ca**n't** help it*
b. **I don't try**n't** to pay attention; I just can't help it*

In example (27a), *n't* is fused with the operators *do* and *can*, while in (27b), the *n't* form cannot be attached to the verb *try*.

As for criterion (2), namely clitics appear in the same position as their corresponding non-reduced forms, consider the following examples:

(28) a. *They **haven't** come yet*
b. *They **have not** come yet*
c. ***Haven't they** come yet?*
d. ***Have they not** come yet?*
e. ***Have not they** come yet?*

In example (28a) the contracted form *n't* occupies the same position as the full form *not* in (28b), and, thus, behaves as a clitic. Nevertheless, the uncontracted

[29] Scholars such as Crystal (1987: 245) or Denison (1999: 320), however, mention the form "*bettern't*" as the negation of (*had*) *better*, which is used "in children speech" (from Hudson 2000: 299).

counterpart of the interrogative clause in (28c) is (28d), and not (28e), since the placement of *not* after the auxiliary in such a context normally yields an ungrammatical sequence (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 809 or Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 801).[30] In the light of this evidence, with respect to criterion (2), *n't* behaves, once again, as an affix rather than as a clitic.

Criterion (3) also classifies *n't* as an affix, since *n't* cannot be fused with words already containing clitics, as (29) clearly demonstrates.

(29) a. *I'd **not** be doing that*
b. * *I'**dn't** be doing that*

Finally, criterion (4) corroborates that *n't* is an affix, since some auxiliaries change their stem-vowel and undergo certain phonological changes when *n't* is added to them. Thus, for instance, *will* becomes *won't* after negative contraction. In other cases, some consonants are deleted, as in *must*, where /t/-deletion occurs only when the affix *n't* is attached.

Granting that *n't* is an affix rather than a clitic, I must decide now whether it is an inflectional or a derivational affix. Since the affixation of *n't* to operators does not change their grammatical category, i.e. they remain as operators, I conclude that *n't* is inflectional.

[30] However, as discussed in Section 3.2.2.1. below, the subject can follow the negator in interrogatives in formal contexts and with lengthy subjects.

3.2.2. Some Important Constraints

While the uncontracted negative variant is always possible, both OpeC and NotC can be blocked in certain **knockout contexts**. In what follows, I will discuss, on the one hand, those cases where OpeC is not allowed (cf. Section 3.2.2.1.) and, on the other, the KO contexts which inhibit the use of NotCs (cf. Section 3.2.2.2.).

3.2.2.1. Knockout Contexts for OpeC

The different contexts mentioned in the literature on the topic which block the selection of OpeC are the following:

(a) Yes-no questions, *wh*-questions and question tags.

The general predominance of NotCs over OpeCs mentioned above is closely related to the formation of negative questions. In English negative interrogative clauses can be formed in two ways with different word order arrangements: the NotC type, as in (30a), and the UncN form, as in (30b) below.

(30) a. ***Won't*** *you come?*
b. ***Will you not*** *come?*

OpeC is not possible in such cases, since the reduced form of the operator cannot be placed in clause initial position, as (31) shows (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123; Westergren 1998: 51; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1128). In other words, negative questions constitute a clear knockout context for OpeC (cf. also Section III.3.2.1. below).

(31) ***'ll** you not come?*

By contrast, as (30b) above evinces, the NotC rule is optional in such a context. Scholars like Ali (1970: 73f) consider that the NotC rule is only compulsory when

the tag-question rule applies. Thus, we obtain sentences like (32b) and never like (32c).

(32) a. *She has done her homework*
b. *She has done her homework,* ***hasn't she****?*
c. **She has done her homework,* ***has she not****?*

Nevertheless, in their 1985 grammar, Quirk *et al*. (1985: 810ff) claim that the uncontracted negative in question tags can be found in very formal English (cf. also Hoffmann 2006) or in informal Northern BrE dialects. However, the uncontracted negative, as in other negative questions, is only possible if the negative particle *not* is inserted after the pronoun, as in (33a), and never before the pronoun, as in (33b).

(33) a. *She is coming,* ***is she not****?*
b. **She is coming,* ***is not she****?*

As mentioned in Section 3.2.1. above, the placement of the negator after the auxiliary generally yields an ungrammatical sequence (cf. examples (28e) and (33b) above), though it is possible in very formal contexts with long and/or 'heavy' NP subjects, in accordance with the principle of end-weight. Consider in this respect (34) below, taken from Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 22), where the lengthy subject *this group of sixteen energetic youngsters* allows the placing of the negator immediately after the operator.

(34) ***Could not this group of sixteen energetic youngsters*** *travel down the Colorado in a bark canoe?*

(b) Other clauses with inverted word order.

As in the case of questions, in other clauses in which the order of the subject and the operator is inverted, OpeC is not possible, since there is no host for the operator to attach to (cf. Westergren 1998: 52). This is, for instance, the case in inverted conditional clauses, as shown in the examples under (35) below. Scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1382f) or Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 801) claim that inverted conditionals do not allow NotCs either, so that example (35c) would also be ungrammatical.[31]

(35) a. ***Had it not*** *been for the weather, the plan would have succeeded*
b. ****'d it not*** *been for the weather, the plan would have succeeded*
c. ****Hadn't it*** *been for the weather, the plan would have succeeded*

(c) Declarative clauses without a subject

OpeC is not feasible either in those clauses where "there is no host subject to which the auxiliary may cliticize" (Tagliamonte & Smith 2002: 263). Consider in this connection example (36) (from Tagliamonte and Smith 2002: 263).

(36) a. *They looked at me and thought, "****won't*** *pick on him"*
b. * *They looked at me and thought, "****'ll not*** *pick on him"*

(d) Elided subject in coordination.

OpeC is not possible either in the second clause of a coordinated structure in which the subject is omitted, as seen in example (37) taken from Castillo-González (2003: 675) (cf. also Westergren 1998: 56f).

(37) a. *Some of the Island is sand and* ***is not*** *suitable for living*
b. * *Some of the Island is sand and* ****'s not*** *suitable for living*

[31] Examples (35a) and (35c) are taken from Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 801).

(e) Intervening elements between the subject and the operator.

OpeC is also blocked in clauses in which intervening elements are placed between the subject and the operator, as in (38) below (cf. Kjellmer 1998: 165; Castillo-González 2003: 676).[32]

(38) a. "***It really isn't*** *necessary* [...]*"*

b. * "***It really 's not*** *necessary* [...]*"*

(f) Subject ending in *-s* plus the third person singular form of the present of *be* or *have*.

For reasons of euphony, OpeC is not allowed when the subject ends in *-s* and the operator following is the third person singular of *be* or *have*, as in example (39) below (cf. Westergren 1998: 60ff; Castillo-González 2003: 676).

(39) a. ***This isn't*** *going to hurt you*

b. **** This 's not*** *going to hurt you*

(g) Typographic blockings.

Another KO context for OpeC is what Westergren (1998: 58ff) calls "typographic blockings." The use of a comma, single or double quotation mark, end parenthesis or dash can block the selection of OpeC (cf. also Kjellmer 1998: 165; 173), as in example (40a) below. As example (40b) shows, these typographic blockings may also inhibit NotC.[33]

[32] Examples (38) and (39) are taken from Castillo-González (2003: 676).

[33] Examples under (40) are taken from my corpus, since all the examples given by Westergren (1998: 58ff) and Kjellmer (1998: 165; 173) contain an affirmative form.

(40) a. *But two-storey brick house, built with red clay dug from a nearby creek**, is not** the farm's original homestead which was on the banks of the Helena River.* (*ACE* E07b)

b. *But Bush said he **is "not** prepared to buy into those statistics."* (*FROWN* A10 207-209)

3.2.2.2. Knockout Contexts for NotC

In spite of the overall predominance of NotC over OpeC mentioned in Section 3.2. above, NotC is also limited by a number of restrictions. Together with the KO contexts already mentioned for NotC, namely inverted conditionals (cf. example (35c) above) and typographic blockings (cf. (40b)), the following are the most important constraints on the formation of NotC discussed in the literature on the topic:

(a) NotC can only occur with operators, in contrast to OpeC which can be attached to words of any category (prepositions, nouns, lexical verbs and so on) (cf. Zwicky & Pullum 1982: 4f). Consider in this respect example (22) above, repeated here as (41) for convenience, and (42) below.

(41) *The person I was talking **to's** not going to be angry with me* (preposition)

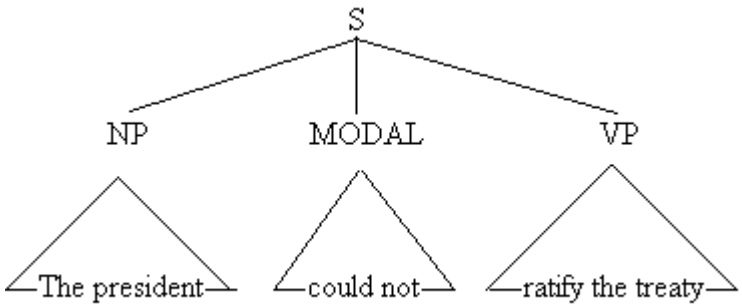
(42) a. *I **won't** accept that proposition* (operator)

b. ***I acceptn't** that proposition* (finite verb)

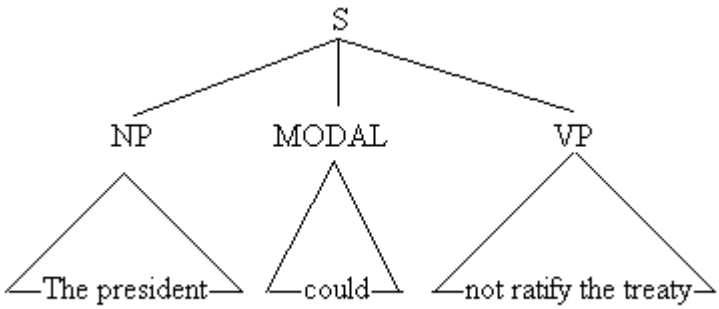
In example (41), the contraction of the *be*-operator, *'s*, is attached to a preposition, yielding a completely grammatical sentence. By contrast, contracted *n't* cannot be attached to a preposition or to a main verb, as in (42b). It can only be contracted with a preceding operator, as in (42a).

(b) NotC is only possible when the negative particle *not* modifies the operator and not when it modifies the following VP (cf. also Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 805). Therefore, we would expect NotC in a sentence like (43a), but not in one like (43b) (examples taken from Radford 1988: 67):

(43a) *The President <could not> ratify the treaty*



(43b) *The president could <not ratify the treaty>*[34]



In example (43a) the operator *could* and the negative particle *not* form a single syntactic unit, thus allowing NotC. By contrast, in example (43b) *not* is attached to the main verb *ratify* and, therefore, cannot be fused with *could*. This implies a difference in meaning with respect to the affirmative sentence in (44) below. The meaning of example (43a) is: 'It would not be possible for the President to ratify the treaty', while (43b) means: 'It would be possible for the President not to ratify the treaty'.

[34] As seen in footnote 1 (Section II.1. above), this is called 'predication negation' by Quirk *et al.* (1985: 775).

(44) *The President could ratify the treaty*

Thus, the negative counterpart of (44) is that found in example (43a), not the one in example (43b).

(c) In those cases in which the VP contains more than one operator, *not* can only be contracted with the first one (cf. Culicover 1976: 121; Quirk *et al*. 1989: 374). For instance, *not* can contract in (45a), but not in (45b), although the contexts for contraction seem identical.

(45) a. *They have not been working = They haven't been working.*

b. *They must have not been working ≠ *They must haven't been working.*

In other words, although the combination *have not* is present in both cases, contraction is only possible in the first one, where *have* is the first operator within the VP.

(d) NotC is not possible either when an element is inserted between the operator and the negator, thus giving way to a split verb phrase, as in example (46) below, taken from Castillo-González (2003: 676).

(46) *The nature of the junction with the overlying Purbeck has been much discussed since then, and* ***is still not*** *settled.* (*LOB* J11 37-J11 39)

3.2.3. Factors Conditioning the Selection between OpeC and NotC

Once the different constraints for the selection of one of the two contracted types have been analysed, it is time to see whether, in the remaining cases, OpeCs and NotCs are randomly distributed or not. The answer to this question seems to be in the negative. For instance, avoidance of ambiguity may condition the selection between the two negative contracted variants. As seen in Table 1 above, forms like *'s*, *'d* or *'ll* can be the contractions for *is* or *has*, *had* or *would* and *will* or *shall*, respectively. Thus, in such cases, NotCs are preferred to OpeCs in order to avoid potential ambiguity (cf. Kjellmer 1998: 181f). As will be mentioned in the following sections, others factors, such as text-type, geographical variation, gender or structural factors, also play an important role in the selection between the two variants at issue.

3.2.3.1. OpeC/NotC and Text-types

The selection between OpeC and NotC in different text-types has been analysed in several corpus-based studies, among them Kjellmer (1998) and Biber *et al*. (1999).

As mentioned in Section 3.1.1. above, Kjellmer (1998) investigates the use of OpeCs and NotCs in all categories of the *LOB* corpus. As shown in Figure 1 above, NotCs clearly predominate over OpeCs in Kjellmer's material. Nevertheless, when dealing with individual forms, he concludes that the predominance of NotCs over OpeCs is evident with all operators except *be*, with

which the latter type is preferred (1998: 181).[35] A comparison of the data in his Tables 3 (1998: 160) and 12 (1998: 171) shows that NotCs predominate over OpeCs only in categories B (Press editorial), C (Press review), E (Skills, trades and hobbies), G (Belles lettres), H (Miscellaneous) and J (Learned and scientific writings).[36] Kjellmer (1998) also notes that the frequency of NotCs is higher in the fictional categories (from Cat K to Cat R), in most of them well over 50%, than in the non-fictional text-types (from A to J), where the proportion of NotCs is lower than 32%.

As seen in Section 3.1.1. above, Biber *et al.* (1999) have also investigated the use of OpeCs and NotCs in a selection of texts from the *LSWE Corpus*, concluding that both NotCs and OpeCs are most likely to occur in those categories related to the spoken register, such as Conversation and Fiction. Concerning differences between text-types, Biber's data (his table A.8) have been included in Table 4 below.[37] As shown in this table, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs in the four kinds of texts analysed with all operators except *be*. With this operator the situation is reversed in favour of OpeCs in Conversation, Fiction and News, whereas the distribution of the two variants under consideration is similar in Academic texts, where contractions represent less than 2.5%. Besides, other interesting results from Biber *et al.*'s (1999: 1132) study are that NotCs with *have*, *will* and *would* are rare in Academic texts, while they are very commonly used in

[35] Cf. also Hiller's (1987) and Section 4.1. below.
[36] It must be noted here that the data for Kjellmer's OpeC contain both negative examples and affirmative VPs where the operator is contracted.
[37] Table 4 includes only Biber *et al.*'s data for OpeC and NotC, the form *ain't* and the uncontracted variants being excluded.

Conversation (95% for *have* and *will* and 100% for *would*) and rather frequent in Fiction (55%, 80% and 60 %, respectively).

Table 4. Percentages of contractions according to text-type in Biber *et al*. (1999)

TEXT-TYPE	OPERATORS	OpeCs	NotCs
Conversation	*Be*	70%	10%
	Have	5%	95%
	Will	5%	95%
	Would	Less than 2.5%	100%
Fiction	*Be*	45%	25%
	Have	Less than 2.5%	55%
	Will	5%	80%
	Would	Less than 2.5%	60%
News	*Be*	20%	10%
	Have	Less than 2.5%	30%
	Will	5%	45%
	Would	Less than 2.5%	30%
Academic texts	*Be*	Less than 2.5%	Less than 2.5%
	Have	Less than 2.5%	5%
	Will	Less than 2.5%	5%
	Would	Less than 2.5%	5%

3.2.3.2. OpeC/NotC and Geographical Variation

As in the selection between full forms and contractions (cf. Section 3.1.2. above), geographical variation also conditions the choice between OpeCs and NotCs. Some scholars who have paid attention to the selection between variants regarding dialect are Hiller (1987) and Castillo-González (2003). In what follows, the results from these studies will be analysed in more detail.

Hiller (1987) selected for his analysis the *Survey of English Usage Corpus* (*SEU*). This corpus is a collection not only of written BrE texts, but also of spontaneously spoken BrE ones. The texts chosen by Hiller from the *SEU* corpus comprise three groups of spoken categories:

1. **S.1, S.2** and **S.3** (S.1-3). These three categories comprise 30 texts of about 5,000 words each of informally spoken and surreptitiously recorded conversations. The social relations of the speakers involved range from 'intimate' (S.1) to 'equal' (S.2) and 'distant' (S.3). The register of this first category is informal.

2. **S.5.** It comprises spontaneously and publicly spoken texts such as radio discussions. It contains about 45,000 words distributed through nine texts. The register of this group is intermediate.

3. **S.11** and **S.12.** As the previous text group, S.11-12 comprise publicly spoken texts but rather formal, i.e. sermons, speeches and trials. It contains about 55,000 words and the register is formal.

Besides the texts selected from the *SEU Corpus*, Hiller (1987) also included in his study some written BrE and AmE texts:

(a) A number of plays by the British author J. Osborne, namely *Look Back in Anger, Inadmissible Evidence* and *The Entertainer*.

(b) A number of plays by American authors:

- T. Williams' *Glass Menagerie* and *A Streetcar Named Desire*.
- A. Miller's *Death of a Salesman* and *All My Sons*.

- Th. Wilder's *Long Christmas Dinner* and *Our Town*.

From the data in all these BrE and AmE texts, Hiller concludes that both dialects show an overall preference for NotCs over OpeCs. However, while the proportion of NotCs with *had, would* and *will* are similar in the BrE and AmE samples, the number of NotCs used with *am, are, is, has* and *have* are clearly different, as my Figures 3 and 4 below illustrate. In AmE texts, NotCs with *be* are far more numerous than in BrE, while with the present forms of *have*, NotCs are more frequent in BrE texts than in AmE ones.

Figure 3. Percentage of NotCs in BrE texts in Hiller's (1987) study

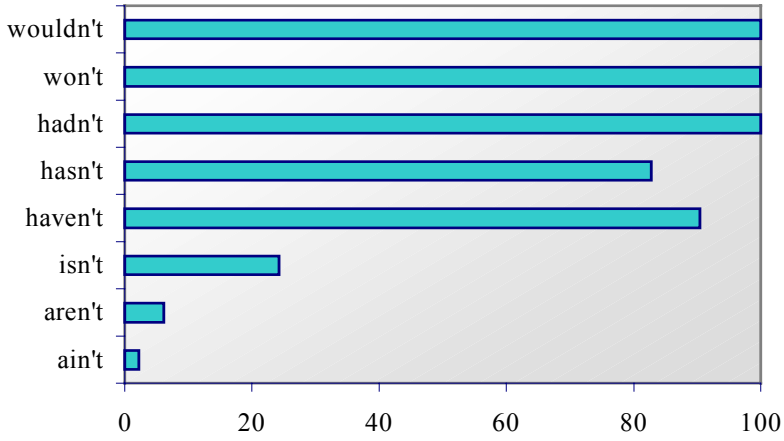
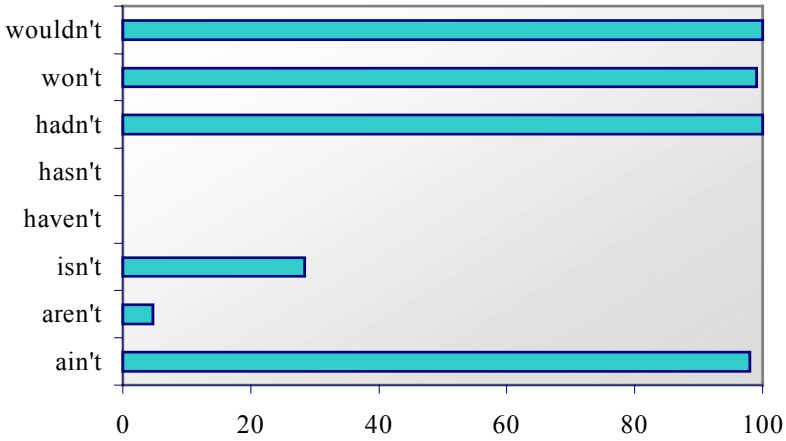


Figure 4. Percentage of NotCs in AmE texts in Hiller's (1987) study



The results obtained in my earlier study of the negative forms of the *be*-operator in written texts from the 1960s (cf. Castillo-González 2003: 677ff) confirm Hiller's conclusion that AmE favours the use of NotCs to a greater extent than BrE. My comparative analysis of the *LOB* and *BROWN* data also allowed me to maintain that the selection between NotCs and OpeCs with the operator *be* is a clear dialectal marker: while in AmE NotCs constitute the predominant contracted type (13.95% for NotCs vs. 10.99% for OpeCs), OpeCs are preferred in BrE (7.34% for NotCs vs. 11.9% for OpeCs).

Besides the distinction between AmE and BrE dialects, the geographical variation between northern and southern areas, in both Britain and the United States, has also proved to be an important factor which conditions the choice between OpeC and NotC. Thus, according to Trudgill (1984: 33) or Hughes & Trudgill (1996: 20f), among others, there is a general preference for OpeCs in the dialects of the North of England and in Scotland, while NotCs are preferred in the dialects of the South, except with the *be*-operator, with which southern speakers tend to favour the OpeC type (cf. Hughes & Trudgill 1996: 21 and Section 4.1. below). However, other scholars, such as Swan (1980: 159), affirm that in the South, OpeC and NotC with *be* "are probably equally frequent." In their analysis of the variation between OpeC and NotC in British dialects, Tagliamonte & Smith (2002: 268ff) claim that, with the operators *have* and *would*, there is no distinction between geographical areas, "north and south are parallel in having" NotC. However, with the operator *will* the situation is variable, since the preference for OpeCs over NotCs is only found in three northern places, while in other northern

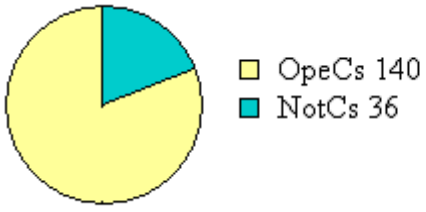
and southern areas analysed by them, NotCs are preferred (2002: 269). As for the operator *be*, they come to the conclusion that OpeCs are more common than NotCs in all areas, except for the form *is* in Maryport and Tiverton, where NotCs are preferred. Finally, according to Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 107ff), the North/South distinction for the selection of contracted types also holds true for AmE. Nevertheless, in this variety of English, OpeCs are favoured in the South, while NotCs predominate in the North (2002: 107 and 109).

3.2.3.3. OpeC/NotC and Gender

Gender is another determinant of variation which can condition the choice of contracted types. Hiller (1987: 547) investigated the effects of position in the clause on the selection between OpeCs and NotCs in relation to this variable. He found that both women and men behave almost identically with regard to the use of the two types of contractions with *is* after pronouns and in mid position, OpeCs clearly predominating over NotCs (cf. Figures 5a-b below). As regards the occurrences of OpeCs and NotCs with *is* in other positions, by contrast, both men and women tend to use more NotCs, as illustrated in Figures 6a-b below, though the proportion of NotCs is higher in males than in females.

Figure 5. Number of contractions of *is* in mid position in Hiller's (1987) study

a. MALES



b. FEMALES

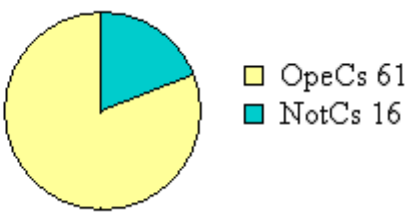
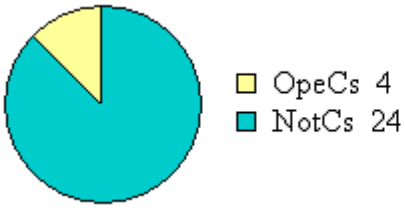
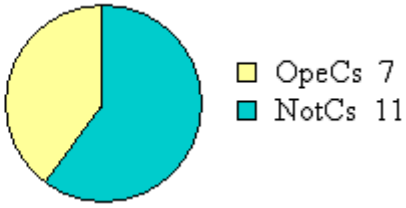


Figure 6. Number of contractions of *is* in positions other than medial in Hiller's (1987) study

a. MALES



b. FEMALES



3.2.3.4. OpeC/NotC and Structural Factors

Some of the structural factors discussed in the literature regarding the choice between OpeCs and NotCs are (a) the position of the contracted form in the clause, and (b) the nature of the clause subject. In order to examine the influence of these two factors on the use of NotCs and OpeCs, Biber *et al*. (1999: 166) analysed the occurrences of *is* and *are* plus *not* in their contracted forms. Biber *et al*.'s data allow me to elaborate the following table:

Table 5. Percentages of contractions of *is* and *are* in Biber *et al*. (1999)

	's not	***isn't***	***'re not***	***aren't***
Clause Initial	0%	55%	0%	60%
Clause Final	10%	Less than 5%	10%	Less than 5%
Personal Pronouns	70%	20%	100%	15%
Nouns	5%	10%	0%	15%
Existential-*there*	10%	5%	0%	5%

As can be observed in Table 5, NotCs with *is* and *are* are mainly found in clause-initial position, which, as seen in Section 3.2.2.1. above (cf. also section III.3.2.1. below) constitutes a knockout context for OpeCs. By contrast, the majority of tokens of OpeCs are found clause-finally and also with pronouns as subjects. The

tendency to use OpeCs with pronominal subjects and NotCs with nominal subjects is corroborated by Tagliamonte & Smith (2002: 260).

Kjellmer (1998: 165ff) also studied the distribution of two contracted variants in relation to the type of clause and type of subject. In his data, OpeCs are "virtually nonexistent before punctuation" (1998: 173), that is, in clause final position, while the use of NotCs clause-finally is rather frequent.

As far as contractions and subject-type are concerned, Kjellmer's (1998: 165f; 181) analysis reveals that the frequency of occurrence of each of the two contracted types varies from pronoun to pronoun. Thus, with the verb *be* NotCs predominate over OpeCs when the subject of the clause is the pronoun *you*, while the situation is reversed with the pronoun *they*.

The last structural factor which conditions the choice between OpeC and NotC is the function of the operator, that is, whether it is a lexical verb o an auxiliary. As seen in Section 3.1.5. above, the only operators which allow such a distinction are *be* and *have*. Kjellmer (1998: 164, 172) distinguishes between three verb functions: main verb, as in example (47a), auxiliary, as in (47b), and copula, as in (47c) below.[38] He comes to the conclusion that NotCs contrast strikingly with OpeC in his material, since while the former are "about twice as frequent with main verbs and auxiliaries as with copulas (41% and 37% vs. 20%)" (1998:

[38] Examples taken from Kjellmer (1998: 172).

172), OpeCs, by contrast, seem to be preferred with the copula rather than with auxiliaries or main verbs (28% vs. 22% and 11% respectively) (1998: 164). [39]

(47) a. *I haven't sadistic instincts*
b. *I haven't seen them*
c. *It isn't important*

Moreover, concerning the selection of contracted variants with the *be*-operator, Zimmerman (1983: 364) also claims that "die Kontraktion von Formen des *auxiliary to be* eher vor einem folgenden Verb angewendet wird (*He's going*) als vor einem Substantiv oder Adjecktiv (*He is wise*)" ['the contraction of the auxiliary *be* [OpeC] is preferred when it is followed by a verb (*He is going*), rather than by a substantive or an adjective (*he is wise*)']. However, according to Hiller (1987: 544f), Kjellmer (1998: 174) or Tagliamonte & Smith (2002: 261), when the verb is followed by adjectival or nominal complements, OpeCs seem to be preferred. By contrast, NotCs are more common than OpeCs when the postverbal element is a prepositional complement, an adverbial element or a progressive form. As to the verb *be* used as an auxiliary for passive or for progressive constructions, Kjellmer's (1998) data show that both OpeCs (41% vs. 11%) and NotCs (34% vs. 9%) are more frequent with progressive than with passive forms. This is also confirmed by Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129).

[39] As mentioned in footnote 36 (section 3.2.3.1. above), it should be recalled here that Kjellmer's data for OpeCs include both affirmative and negative sentences.

3.2.3.5. OpeC/NotC and Phonological Factors

Tagliamonte & Smith (2002: 260f) also studied some phonological determinants of variation for the selection of different contracted forms. They claim that, with the verb *be*, there is a tendency to use OpeC after words ending in a vowel, while NotCs are preferred if the preceding word ends in a consonant (cf. examples under (48) below). Moreover, Kaisse (1985: 98) maintains that OpeC predominates over NotCs before a voiceless consonant.

(48) a. *He**'s not** there*
b. *It **isn't** there*

Hiller (1987: 539) also shows that OpeC is avoided in those cases in which the contraction would produce an awkward consonant cluster. Similarly, Krug (1998: 293) mentions that sequences like "*that's*, *she's* or *he'll* are rather favourable to contraction," while others, such as *that'll or which'll*, prefer not to be contracted or use the NotC form instead. The same idea is shared by Kjellmer (1998: 181f), who affirms that OpeCs with the sequences "*it'd not* and *that'd not* will be avoided in favour of the NOT-contracted equivalents."

4. Survey of the Forms Allowing both OpeC and NotC

As observed in Section II.1, Table 1, in SE there are 24 operator forms which are negated by placing the negator *not* after them. These 24 forms can also be fused with *not* giving the different NotCs existing in English.[40] However, only nine of these operator forms have the possibility of doing an OpeC. Therefore, the forms

[40]As seen in Section II.1. above, some of these NotC forms are not accepted by all grammarians.

which allow the two types of contraction are: *am, is, are, have, has, had, will, would* and *shall*. However, it must be borne in mind that, although *shall* allows, in principle, the three alternative ways of negating, its NotC is becoming rare (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 122; footnote 8 above). The remaining eight operator forms which admit both OpeC and NotC will be analysed in detail in this section. They are interesting for my analysis since the writer/speaker has a choice between alternatives. The *be*-operator will be studied in Section 4.1. below; Section 4.2. will deal with the operator *have*. In turn, the *will*-operator will be analysed in Section 4.3., and, finally, Section 4.4. will be concerned with the study of the *would*-operator.

4.1. *Be*

As seen in Table 1 above, the *be*-forms which allow the three ways of negation are those corresponding to the present indicative: *are not*, *is not* and *am not*. Scholars like Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among others, state that the operator *be* behaves differently from the other operators studied here, since it favours the use of OpeC. In his analysis of the texts of the *Survey of English Usage Corpus* (*SEU*), Hiller (1987) demonstrates that this is so. My Figures 7 and 8 below show the distribution of NotCs and OpeCs respectively in Hiller's selection of the *SEU Corpus*. As Figures 7 and 8 show, the verb *be* clearly differs from the other operators as regards the choice of OpeCs and NotCs.

Figure 7. Percentage of NotCs in Hiller's (1987) analysis of the *SEU* corpus

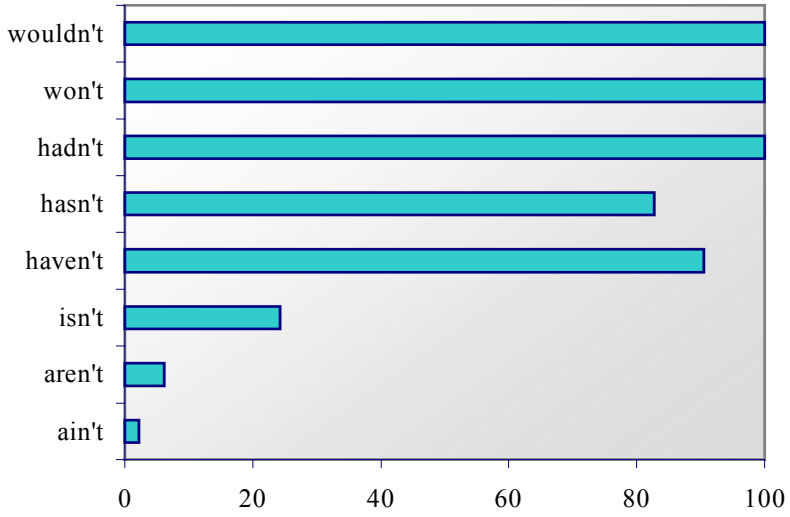
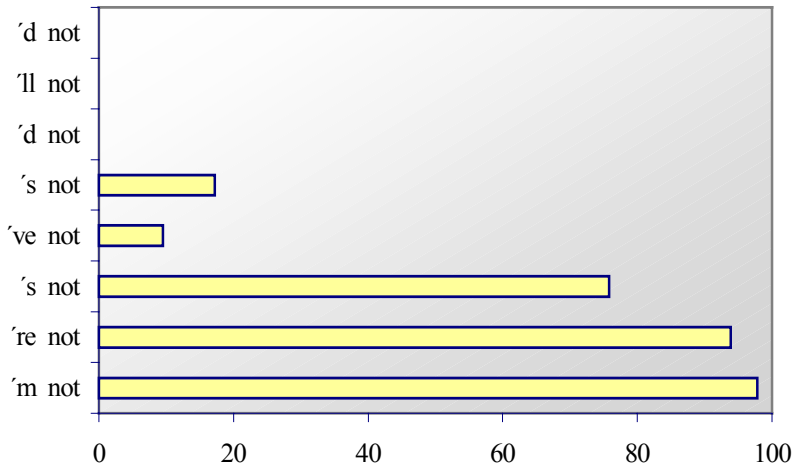


Figure 8. Percentage of OpeCs in Hiller's (1987) analysis of the *SEU* corpus



Thus, when confronted with the pair of examples in (49a-b), speakers mostly select the first option, apparently because NotCs with *be* are somewhat "weaker or milder in negative force" (Bublitz 1992: 562) than OpeCs.

(49) a. *I think he* ***'s not*** *happy*

b. *I think he* ***isn't*** *happy*

However, as seen in Section 3.2.3.2. above, according to Swan (1980: 159), OpeCs and NotCs with *be* in the South of Britain "are probably equally frequent."

Hazen (1996: 110) provides a phonotactic explanation for the preference of *be* for OpeCs; according to him, forms such as *he's not* sound more natural than forms like *he isn't*. Anderwald (2002: 92), in turn, argues that copular *be* has a very low semantic content, and can thus be reduced without disturbing the meaning of the sentence. Thus, OpeC is preferred with this operator to NotC.

Another peculiarity of *be* with regard to negative contractions is that it is defective in a very peculiar way, both in its past tense and in its first person singular present. In the past tense, the paradigm of *be* lacks OpeCs, that is, there are no contractions for *were* and *was* with the subject.[41] On the contrary, *were not* and *was not* can be fused, giving *weren't* and *wasn't* respectively.[42]

In the first person singular present, the verb *be* is also defective in SE, since there is no way of merging the verb and the negator, giving a NotC. However, non-standard varieties of English have a number of different NotCs for *am not* (cf. Chesire 1982: 54ff; Francis 1985: 145f or Anderwald 2002: 86, among others). Although there is no universally accepted colloquial form for it, typical NotCs for *am not* are *ain't* (with different pronunciations, [eint, ɛnt, ∂nt]), *amn't* and *aren't*, depending on dialectal areas (cf. Section 3.1.2. above). The lack of a

[41] Nevertheless, in some areas of the United States — e.g. Pennsylvania and the rural South — a form *I's* is very frequently heard as a contraction of *I was* (cf. Tucker 1966: 76f).
[42] Jespersen (1917: 22) mentions the existence of forms such as *wa'nt, wa'n't* or *warn't* in earlier English for the contraction of *was not*. He explains that these forms were frequently used by authors like Defoe or Howells, as in *I warrant you were frighted, wa'n't you* or *we wa'n't ragged*.

NotC for the first person singular present indicative with *be*, at least in SE, could offer a plausible explanation for the aforementioned preference of OpeCs over NotCs with this operator. In other words, the stigmatised non-standard use of NotC with the first person singular may exert some influence on the whole paradigm (cf. Hughes & Trudgill 1996: 21 or Anderwald 2002: 91; also Section 3.2.3.1. above).

The origin of the form *ain't* is far from being clear. What follows is a summary of the two most important theories on its genesis which can be found in the literature on the topic:

1. Linguists such as Raven (1941: 59), among others, affirm that *ain't* is a direct phonological derivation of *aren't*. They argue that *aren't* became *arnt* in the course of eighteenth century, which later lost its /r/ and, thus, a compensatory lengthening of the vowel yielded /æ:/. This eModE phoneme developed into the present-day diphthong /ei/ and *aren't* became *ain't*.

2. A different development for the origin of *ain't* has been proposed by Jespersen (1917: 118ff) and Stevens (1954: 199). According to these authors, *ain't* goes back to *am not*, which suffered a process of syncope of the vowel /o/, due to its weak character, hence becoming *amn't*. Later on there was an assimilation of the first nasal, giving *ann't*, and, finally, a lengthening of the vowel took place, resulting in *ain't*:

   Am not > amn't > ann't > ain't

Besides its function as the contracted form for *am not*, *ain't* also occurs without being marked for person and number in some dialects of English around the world and may function as (cf. Cheshire 1981: 365f; 1982: 51 and Table 1 above):

1. The present tense negative form of *be* as copula or main verb. Thus, it can appear instead of *aren't, isn't* and *am not*, as in (50):

(50) a. *We **ain't** your friend*
b. *He **ain't** your friend*
c. *I **ain't** your friend*

2. The whole present tense negative forms of the auxiliary *be* (cf. (51) below).

(51) a. *You **ain't** coming soon*
b. *He **ain't** coming soon*
c. *I **ain't** coming soon*

3. The present tense negative form of the auxiliary *have*, thus replacing *haven't* or *hasn't,* but not of *have* as a full verb (cf. (52a-c) below). It is believed that, in such cases, *ain't* derives from *hain't*, which suffered a process of /h/-dropping (cf. Malstrom 1963: 285).

(52) a. *You **ain't** found it*
b. *He **ain't** found it*
c. ***We **ain't** our lunch at one*

4. In some varieties of Black English, *ain't* is used for *don't, doesn't* and *didn't,*[43] as in:

(53) a. *I **ain't** go to the cinema every week*
b. *She **ain't** go to the cinema every week*
c. *I **ain't** go to the cinema yesterday*

The widespread use of *ain't* just discussed constitutes clear evidence of the tendency towards the simplification of linguistic systems. Its extension throughout the *be*-paradigm and the *have*-paradigm may have taken place by analogy with other negative contracted forms, such as *won't* or *wouldn't*, which have a single form throughout the whole paradigm (cf. Chesire 1981: 367).

Another important feature of the form *ain't* is that it is more frequently used in AmE than in BrE (cf. Section 3.1.2. above), while in Scotland and in Irish English the form *amn't* is preferred (cf., among others, Jørgensen 1979: 40; Quirk *et al*. 1985: 129; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 1611f). Besides, according to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 1611), the use of *ain't* is also a distinctive social marker, since, in BrE, it is used by working-class speakers, but not in academic discourse, while in AmE it is used by educated speakers not only in informal style, but also in writing.

[43] *Ain't* for *didn't* is quoted in Chesire (1981: 366, 1982: 51) and in the *Merriam-Webster Collegiate Dictionary* (1999).

4.2. *Have*

The second operator analysed here is *have* in all its forms, namely *have, has* and *had*. In PDE it is possible to find negative sentences with *have* according to one of the following forms: UncNs (*have not*, *has not*, *had not*), OpeCs (*'ve not*, *'s not*, *'d not*) and NotCs (*haven't*, *hasn't hadn't*). The different OpeC of the forms *have, has* and *had*, namely *'ve, 's* and *'d*, seem to have first occurred in the eighteenth century (Pyles & Algeo 1993: 204), while the NotC forms appeared one century earlier, as mentioned in Section 2. In contrast to the operator *be* (cf. Section 4.1. above), NotCs are more common than OpeCs with the *have*-operator (cf. Forsheden 1983: 27f). One of the most obvious reasons for such PDE preference with *have* is that *'s* and *'d* are also contractions for other operator forms, such as the third person singular present indicative of the verb *be* (*is*) and *would* respectively. Besides representing *is* or *has*, the contraction *'s* may occasionally stand for *does* in informal style (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 132), as in the following example:

(54) *What's it matter?*

Therefore, as seen in Section 3.2.3. above, in order to avoid potential problems of ambiguity, speakers tend to use *hasn't, haven't* and *hadn't* more frequently than their OpeC counterparts.

Another important characteristic of the operator *have* is that both types of contractions are more likely to be favoured with *have* as an auxiliary than with *have* as a lexical verb (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123; Sinclair 1990: 453; Kjellmer 1998: 158, 172; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129, among others; also Section 3.1.5 above).

Thus, for instance, the contracted form *haven't* is more likely to occur in example (55a) below than in (55b).

(55) a. *We **haven't** found any money*
b. *We **haven't** any money*

As mentioned in Section 3.1.5., this preference for contractions with *have* as an auxiliary is probably related to a question of frequency, since auxiliaries are more frequent than lexical verbs, and, therefore, contraction is more likely to occur in the former function (cf. Kjellmer 1998: 158; Krug 1998: 288ff; 2003: 9ff).

Quirk *et al*. (1985: 131f) also mention that in sentences such as (55b) above, the contracted form with *have* as a main verb, despite being "the traditional construction in BrE" is becoming "somewhat uncommon, particularly in the past tense" and is used in the most formal English. This construction tends to be replaced by a structure with the operator *do*,[44] as in the following example:

(56) *We **don't** have any money*

Moreover, in informal BrE, the *have got* construction (cf. example (57) below) seems to be preferred when *have* functions as a main verb.

(57) *We **haven't** got any money*

4.3. *Will*

As already mentioned, *will* is one of those operators which can be contracted both with the subject and with the negator. In spite of this, *will*, as well as *would* (cf.

[44] In AmE the *have*-operator functioning as a lexical verb is normally negated with the operator *do*.

4.4. below) and *have* (cf. 4.2. above), favours NotC (cf. Forsheden 1983: 27f Hughes & Trudgill 1996: 21 or Kjellmer 1998: 181, among many others). However, the form *'ll not* is more frequently used than *won't* in some varieties of the English language, such as Scottish English or Northern English (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123; Lass 1987: 261f), where there is a general predominance of OpeC over NotC (cf. Section 3.2.3.2. above).

Will has allowed contractions throughout the history of the English language. As mentioned in Section 2 above, in the OE and ME periods *will* contracted with the pre-verbal negator *ne* (*ne* + *willan* > *nillan*). From eModE onwards, *will* could also be contracted with the subject to form an OpeC, although at this stage contractions of this kind occurred only with subjects ending in a vowel, such as *Ile* (for *I'll*) or *youle* (for *you'll*) (cf. Pyles & Algeo 1993: 203f). Therefore, in eModE the OpeCs with *will* were usually written *-le*, in contrast to PDE *'ll*.

A notable peculiarity of *will* is that it shows a vocalic alternation between the affirmative form *will* and its NotC counterpart *won't*, where a form such as **willn't* would be expected. A few words seem in order concerning the origin of this negative form.

In OE the operator *will* had two tense stems: one for the present, namely *wil-*, and another for the past, namely *wol-* (cf. Lass 1992: 141). Most scholars (Strang 1970: 151f, Brainerd 1993: 181 and Pyles & Algeo 1993: 203f, among others) agree that the contracted form *won't* derives from *wol-* plus *not* (> *wonnot*)

and they give the sixteenth century as the point of departure for this contraction. All of them argue that, at that time, there was a transfer, first witnessed in the Midlands dialects, from the past stem *wol* to the present. From the Midlands the form *wol* spread to the rest of the dialects. Since then, *wol* has been used only in negative contractions.

However, the *OED* gives evidence that the origin of *won't* may be found in *will* + *not* (> *winnot*) rather than in *wol* + *not*. Consider, in this respect, the following example, dated 1420, with the form *wynnot*, which antedates by about one century the contracted forms given by Strang (1970: 151f) and other scholars as the point of departure for the NotC with *will*:

(58) c1420 Liber Cocorum (1862) 45 *3if Þay ben harde and* ***wynnot*** *alye* (s.v. *will* v.[1], A, 6b)[45]

In view of this, it can be argued that the origin of the contraction *won't* is not so clear as it may seem at first sight, although *wol* + *not* appears to be the most likely source from which *won't* derives.

4.4. *Would*

As in the case of the operators analysed so far, *would* also allows the two different types of negative contraction available in SE, though OpeC "is rarely found with *would* + *not*" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 1128). A plausible explanation for this is, once again, a question of ambiguity, since, as mentioned in Sections 3.2.3. and 4.3. above, the contracted form *'d* stands for both *had* and *would*.

[45] For forms like *wynnot*, see Section 2, Stage 4 above.

Originally, *would* was the past tense of *will* and had the same functions in the past as its corresponding present form. According to the *OED*, the first evidence of the OpeC form of *would* dates from the late sixteenth century (see example (59a) below), but unlike PDE, *would* was contracted as *'ld*, a form which remained until the early eighteenth century when the contraction *'d* was adopted (Pyles & Algeo 1993: 204) (cf. example (59b) below).

(59) a. 1591 Shakes. *Two Gent. iv. iii. 3 Ther's some great matter* ***she'ld*** *employ me in.* (*OED* s.v. *will* v.[1], A, 10c)

b. 1712 Steele *Spect. No. 326 35 My Request to you is, that...****you'd*** *speedily afford us your Assistance.* (*OED* s.v. *will* v.[1], A, 10c)

Thus, the OpeC with *would* first occurred in eModE times. Little by little, however, the NotC with *would*, which appeared in the seventeenth century as *wou'not* (Brainerd 1993: 180), became more and more frequent, until it eventually became the preferred contracted form for English speakers since the eighteenth century.

5. Summary

This chapter has been devoted to an overview of clausal negation and negative contractions in English. The starting point for my discussion has been the distinction between clausal negation, i.e. that in which the negator *not* affects the whole clause, and subclausal negation, where only one part of the clause is affected by the negator. The establishment of such a distinction was followed by the identification of three different alternative ways of operator negation, namely

uncontracted negatives (UncN), operator contractions (OpeC) and *Not*-contractions (NotC) (Section 1). In Section 2, the evolution of negation and negative contractions throughout the history of the English language has been delineated.

The remaining sections have been concerned with the selection of full forms and negative contractions. In Section 3, I discussed some of the factors which condition, on the one hand, the choice between uncontracted negatives and negative contractions (Section 3.1.), and, on the other, the overall preference for NotCs over OpeCs (Section 3.2.). Factors such as text-type, geographical variation, social stratification, gender and age distinctions and various structural factors have been discussed in these sections in connection with the selection of variants. Finally, in Section 4, I have provided a brief description of each of the four operators allowing the three alternatives of negation under study: *be*, *have* *will* and *would*.

In this way, the present chapter has paved the way for the corpus-based study on the variation between uncontracted negatives and negative contractions in contemporary written and spoken English presented in the following pages.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE CORPUS

1. Description of the Corpus Used in the Present Study

As stated in chapter I, the present study is aimed at describing and analysing the variation between OpeCs, NotCs and UncNs in contemporary English, both in written and in spoken texts, with those operators which allow the three alternative ways of negation. For my purposes, I have selected nine computerised corpora: two corpora of written BrE texts, namely *The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (***LOB***) and *The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (***FLOB***), two corpora of written AmE texts, namely *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (***BROWN***) and *The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (***FROWN***), one corpus of written AusE, namely *The Australian Corpus of English* (***ACE***), two corpora of NzE: one written, *The Wellington Written Corpus* (***WWC***), and the other spoken, *The Wellington Spoken Corpus* (***WSC***), one corpus of spoken BrE, namely *The London-Lund Corpus* (***LLC***), and, finally, a corpus of spoken AmE, namely *The Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (***CSPAE***).[46] The number of words of each corpus amounts to 1,000,000, except for the *LLC*, which comprises 500,000 words, and the *CSPAE*, which contains 2,000,000 running words in all, out of which only 1,000,000 have been selected for the present study (cf. Section 1.2. below). Thus, the total number of words analysed amounts to 8,500,000. As stated in the Introduction, my selection of

[46] With the exception of the *CSPAE*, the remaining eight corpora are included in the *ICAME CD-ROM*.

these corpora has been conditioned by the fact that they allow me to carry out a comparative analysis of the similarities and the differences in the use of negative contractions and uncontracted negatives in different dialects of contemporary English. Furthermore, the selection of these corpora is of interest in that it allows to establish comparisons not only as regards medium, i.e. written versus spoken language, but also, as regards type of text, since most of them, with the exception of the *CSPAE*, contain a wide variety of text-types representing different degrees of formality (cf. Section 1.2. below). The following sections are devoted to a brief description of each of these nine corpora.

1.1 Written Corpora

(A) The *Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (*LOB*)

The *LOB* corpus is a collection of written BrE texts from the 1960s. It is divided into 15 text categories as follows:

A Press: reportage

B Press: editorial

C Press: review

D Religion

E Skills, trades and hobbies

F Popular lore

G Belle lettres, memoirs and biographies

H Miscellaneous[47]

[47] This category comprises government documents, foundation reports, industry reports, college catalogues and industry house organ texts.

J Learned and scientific writings

K General fiction

L Mystery and detective fiction

M Science fiction

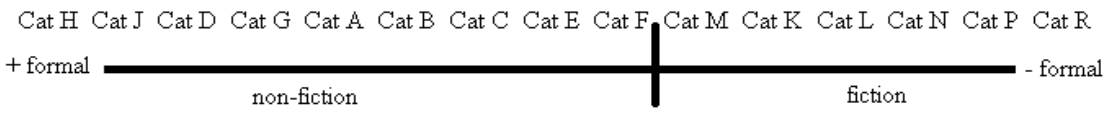
N Adventure and western fiction

P Romance and love story

R Humour

As mentioned by Kjellmer (1998: 160), "there is a sharp divide between non-fiction (categories A-J) and fiction (categories K-R)," a distinction which can be interpreted, according to him, in terms of the dichotomy formality vs. informality. Moreover, the different textual categories in each of the two groups can be said to represent different degrees of (in)formality. Thus, among formal text-types, it is possible to distinguish between highly formal categories, such as H (Miscellaneous) and J (Learned and scientific writings) and less formal ones, such as E (Skills, trades and hobbies) or F (Popular lore). Likewise, among fictional text-types, Cat M (Science fiction) comes closer to the formal categories than, for instance, P (Romance and love story) or R (Humour). Figure 9 below shows graphically such distinctions in *LOB* and in the other written corpora analysed in the present study.

Figure 9. Degree of formality of the text-types included in the written corpora[48]



The *LOB* corpus contains 500 samples of about 2,000 words each, which makes 1,000,000 running words in all. All the texts are prefaced by a number of identification codes which provide details about text-type and the corresponding subdivisions. Each example starts at the beginning of a sentence and ends just after 2,000 words. Within the texts there is a limited amount of symbols, as example (60) shows:

(60) *A01 1 **[001 TEXT A01**]*
*A01 2 *<*'*7STOP ELECTING LIFE PEERS***'*>*
*A01 3 *<*4By TREVOR WILLIAMS*>*
*A01 4 |^A *0MOVE to stop \0Mr. Gaitskell from nominating any more Labour*
A01 5 life Peers is to be made at a meeting of Labour {0M P}s tomorrow.

(B) The *Freiburg-Lob Corpus of British English* (*FLOB*)

The *FLOB* corpus also contains 500 samples of written BrE texts of about 2,000 words each but, unlike the *LOB* corpus, the texts date from the early 1990s. The *FLOB* presents the same structure as its *LOB* counterpart, that is, it is divided into the same 15 text-categories and the same collections of texts are sampled whenever possible. This allows us to test linguistic changes taking the *LOB*

[48] As seen below, the *WWC* does not distinguish between different fictional categories, which are all grouped under Cat K.

corpus as the point of departure. In all texts coded identification and other symbols are also present, as shown in example (61) below.

(61) *A01 1 <#FLOB:A01\><h_><p_>Labour pledges reversal of NHS hospital*
A01 2 opt-outs<p/>
A01 3 <p_>By Stephen Castle<p/>
A01 4 <p_>Political Correspondent<p/><h/>
A01 5 <p_>ROBIN COOK, Labour's health spokesman, yesterday repeated party
A01 6 opposition to the internal market in the National Health Service
A01 7 and said there had been <quote_>"no secret pacts with health
A01 8 service <}_><-|>manager<+|>managers<}/>" <quote/> to maintain
A01 9 hospital trusts.<p/>

(C) The *Brown University Corpus* (*BROWN*) and the *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (*FROWN*)

The two written corpora of AmE selected for this study are the *BROWN* corpus, which contains written texts of AmE printed in the United States during the 1960s, and the parallel 1990s *FROWN* corpus. These two AmE corpora match the *LOB* and *FLOB* in most aspects of their internal structure. Thus, both *BROWN* and *FROWN* are based on 500 samples of more or less 2,000 words each, divided among the 15 different text-types mentioned above for the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora. Like their British counterparts, all samples are introduced by some codes to indicate text-type and other symbols are present within the texts (see examples (62) and (63) below).

(62) *A01 0010 The Fulton County Grand Jury said Friday an investigation*
A01 0020 of Atlanta's recent primary election produced "no evidence" that
A01 0030 any irregularities took place. The jury further said in term-end
A01 0040 presentments that the City Executive Committee, which had over-all
A01 0050 charge of the election, "deserves the praise and thanks of the
A01 0060 City of Atlanta" for the manner in which the election was conducted.

(*BROWN A*)

(63) *A01 1 <#FROWN:A01\><h_><p_>After 35 straight veto victories, intense*
A01 2 lobbying fails president with election in offing<p/>
A01 3 <p_>By Elaine S. Povich<p/>
A01 4 <p_>CHICAGO TRIBUNE<p/><h/>
A01 5 <p_>WASHINGTON - Despite intense White House lobbying, Congress has
A01 6 voted to override the veto of a cable television regulation bill,
A01 7 dealing President Bush the first veto defeat of his presidency just
A01 8 four weeks before the election.<p/>

(*FROWN A*)

(D) The *Australian Corpus of English* (*ACE*)

This corpus comprises a collection of written AusE texts. It consists of 500 samples containing 2,000 words each. At first sight, *ACE* is similar to *LOB, FLOB, BROWN* and *FROWN*, but, in fact, there are some important differences,

not only as regards its internal structure, but also as regards the date of composition of the texts included and even its coding system.

As seen above, the 500 samples of *LOB, FLOB, BROWN* and *FROWN* are distributed among 15 categories. However, in *ACE* the number of categories amounts to 17. In addition to those already present in the other corpora, two new categories are included in *ACE*, namely Historical fiction (Cat S) and Women's fiction (Cat W). Furthermore, while the texts in the BrE and the AmE corpora date from the 1960s and the 1990s, *ACE* consists of material from the 1980s. Such a difference may be of considerable interest in intercomparisons between the six written corpora analysed in the present piece of research.

Another important difference between *ACE* and the rest of the corpora mentioned so far is its coding system. While both the BrE and the AmE corpora show codes preceding all lines (cf. examples (60) to (63) above), *ACE* only gives information about the type of text and the different subsamples within each text-type at the very beginning of each extract, as example (64) below clearly illustrates:

(64) *<Section>*
<X> A: PRESS REPORTAGE </X>
<X> NOTE: THIS SECTION KEYED FROM HARDCOPY} </X>
<sample><X> A01 </X>
<X> The Australian </X>
<X> 2007 words </X>
<subsample><X> A01a </X>
<X> The Australian - 28 October 1986 </X>

<h> Gala Opening for extension to Qld Govt's DP centre </h>
THE Premier of Queensland, Sir Joh Bjelke- Petersen, didn't disappoint the
crowd at the opening of the $20 million extension to the State Government Computer Centre in Brisbane last week.

(E) The *Wellington Written Corpus* (*WWC*)

This corpus contains a selection of written NzE texts dated from 1986 to 1990. These texts are divided into 500 samples of about 2,000 words each, like the other written corpora mentioned so far. However, its internal structure differs from that of the *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *FROWN* corpora, since the 500 samples of the *WWC* are distributed among 10 categories (A-K), instead of the 15 categories present in the other corpora. Such a difference is related to the dearth of fictional material in NzE from the late 1980s. As can be read in the manual to the corpus:

> there is not the abundance or variety of genres in New Zealand writing to allow us to follow strictly the subclassification used in the *LOB* corpus, (…). Because not enough material was published in 1986 to fill this section, collection was thrown open to all years up to 1990. Books were collected using whatever came to hand through a search of shelves in most local libraries. A measure of the success of this method is that only 12 works of fiction were missed out of those listed in the 1987 New Zealand Books in Print index, when that became available.

As in the previous written corpora, all the texts are prefaced by a number of identification codes which provide us with useful information about text-type. Moreover, within the texts themselves, there is a limited amount of symbols, such as |, which indicates a new paragraph or a new line, or ^, which stands for a new sentence, as example (65) shows:

(65) *A01 001 **[001 TEXT A01**]*
*A01 002 *<*'*4Slap in Face**' On Pay for Police*>*
*A01 003 *<*5Police Reporter*>*
A01 004 |^*4Police industrial action looms closer with the
A01 005 Government giving notice yesterday that it will stick to its 5
A01 006 per cent basic salary rise offer.

Table 6 below shows the distribution of the total number of words included in the six written corpora used in the present study according to text-type.

Table 6. Distribution of words in each text-type in the six written corpora

	LOB	***FLOB***	***BROWN***	***FROWN***	***ACE***	***WWC***
CAT A	88,000	88,000	88,000	88,000	88,000	88,000
CAT B	54,000	54,000	54,000	54,000	54,000	54,000
CAT C	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000
CAT D	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000	34,000
CAT E	76,000	76,000	72,000	72,000	76,000	76,000
CAT F	88,000	88,000	96,000	96,000	88,000	88,000
CAT G	154,000	154,000	150,000	150,000	154,000	154,000
CAT H	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
CAT J	160,000	160,000	160,000	160,000	160,000	160,000
CAT K	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	252,000
CAT L	48,000	48,000	48,000	48,000	30,000	-
CAT M	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	14,000	-
CAT N	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	16,000	-
CAT P	58,000	58,000	58,000	58,000	30,000	-
CAT R	18,000	18,000	18,000	18,000	30,000	-
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000	926,000	1,000,000

For my analysis, I have opted to include all the categories in *LOB, FLOB, BROWN, FROWN* and *WWC*, together with categories A-R in the *ACE* corpus. I

have left aside categories S and W, which appear only in *ACE* and, therefore, do not offer the possibility of establishing comparisons with the remaining corpora.[49] Thus, the total number of words analysed from written texts in the present piece of research amounts to about 5,926,000 words in all.

1.2. Spoken Corpora

(A) The *London-Lund Corpus* (*LLC*)

The *LLC* corpus contains a selection of one hundred spoken texts of BrE compiled from 1960 to 1990. Its texts are divided into 12 categories, which represent different degrees of formality: from highly formal speech, such as physics demonstration (included under category S.10) or university lectures (included under S.12), to very informal speech, such as conversation between personal friends (included under category S.7). The total number of words in this corpus amounts to 500,000. The distribution of the texts is given in Table 7 below.

All the texts are prefaced by a number of identification codes which provide information about text-type and speakers. Moreover, in all texts coded identification and other symbols are present, as shown in example (66) below.

(66) *3 1a 1 10 1 1 a 20 1come in . come in - - ah good morning /*
3 1a 1 20 1 1 A 11 1^good m\orning# /
3 1a 1 30 1 1 a 20 1you`re Mrs Finney /
3 1a 1 40 1 1 A 11 1^y=es# /
3 1a 1 50 1 1 A 11 1I ^\am# /

[49] The total number of words selected from *ACE* is about 926,000.

Table 7. Distribution of *LLC* text-types and word targets

TEXT-TYPE	WORD TARGET
S.1 Conversation between equals	175,000[50]
S.2 Conversation between equals	
S.3 Conversation between disparates	
S.4 Conversations between intimates and equals	35,000
S.5 Conversations[51]	65,000
S.6 Non-surreptitious conversations between disparates	45,000
S.7 Surreptitious telephone conversations between personal friends	15,000
S.8 Surreptitious telephone conversations between business associates	20,000
S.9 Surreptitious telephone conversations between disparates	25,000
S.10 Spontaneous commentary[52]	55,000
S.11 Spontaneous oration[53]	30,000
S.12 Prepared but unscripted oration[54]	35,000
TOTAL	500,000

(B) The *Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (*CSPAE*)

This corpus includes a selection of different types of conversations of AmE dated from 1994 to 1998. It is divided into four main categories: Math committee meeting, which contains five subcategories (5/97, 6/97, 7/97, 8/97 and 8A/97), Reading committee meeting, which comprises three subcategories (6A/97, 6B/97, 7/97), University of North Carolina meeting, divided into three subcategories (95,

[50] Although in the manual of the *LLC* the number of words of S.1, S.2 and S.3 are grouped together (175,000 words in all), I have calculated the approximate number of words of each of the three categories. Thus, S.1 comprises 65,000 words, S.2 comprises 73,000 and S.3 comprises 37,000 words.

[51] Category S.5 is divided into 13 texts: 1-7 are non-surreptitious public conversations between equals (radio discussions), 8-11 are non-surreptitious private conversations between equals, whereas 12 and 13 correspond to a committee meeting and an academic meeting, respectively.

[52] This category includes the following: commentary on sports (1-4), state funeral (5), radio commentary (6-7), wild life, physics demonstrations, biology demonstration and cookery demonstration (8-11).

[53] Category S.11 contains 6 texts: legal cross examination (1), dinner speech (2), radio 'My Word' (3), recordings in the House of Commons (4-5) and House of Lords debate (6).

[54] Category S.12 is divided into 7 texts: sermons (1), University lectures (2), cases in court (3-4), political speech (5), popular lecture (6) and foundation oration (7).

96 and 97), and White House, which only includes "press conference transcripts from the White House" (Barlow 2000: 7) and is divided into six subcategories (94, 95, 96A, 96B, 97A and 97B). As can be noticed, despite being an oral corpus, the *CSPAE* comprises more formal texts than the other spoken corpora used in the present piece of research. Such a difference will prove relevant to the variation between the three alternatives of negation under analysis. As mentioned above, the total number of words of the *CSPAE* amounts to over 2,000,000. Nevertheless, in order to establish comparisons with the other corpora used in this study, I have decided to include in the analysis a selection of texts from each category, which amounts to 1,000,000 running words in all. My random selection comprises the following: subcategory 6/97 from Math committee meeting, subcategories 6A/97 and 6B/97 from Reading committee meeting, the three subcategories from University of North Carolina meeting, and, finally, subcategories 95, 97A and 97B from White House (cf. Table 8 below).

Table 8. Distribution of the selected *CSPAE* text-types and word targets

TEXT-TYPE	WORD TARGET
Math Com 6/97	110,000
Read Com 6A/96	100,000
Read Com 6B/97	140,000
North Carol 95	51,000
North Carol 96	45,000
North Carol 97	66,000
WH 95	100,000
WH 97A	180,000
WH 97B	208,000
TOTAL	1,000,000

Another important difference between this corpus and the ones described so far is the scarcity of codes and other symbols. As a matter of fact, the only information provided in the texts is the identification of the speaker, which appears at the beginning of each paragraph, as shown in example (67) below, taken from WH 97a.

(67) *(White House press briefing by MIKE MCCURRY January 6, 1997)*
<SP>MCCURRY:</SP> Well, welcome to the White House briefing room in this new year, for our first briefing of the new year. Anticipating news, of which I have none, we shall go to your questions -- unless you want to know about the President's call to Chancellor Kohl.
<SP>VOICE:</SP> Sure. Yes.
<SP>MCCURRY:</SP> Those of you who have followed Chancellor Kohl's travels know that he met very recently with President Yeltsin, so President Clinton took that opportunity to have a half-hour conversation with Chancellor Kohl today, a very wide ranging conversation that obviously focused on relations between the Russian Federation and the West, but touched on other subjects as well.

Such a neat appearance of the *CSPAE*, in contrast to the other spoken corpora, is due to the fact that typical features of the spoken language, such as the use of tags (e.g. *well*, *okay*, *Mmm-hmm*) or pauses, have been edited out in order "to make the transcript much easier to read" (Barlow 2000: 5).

(C) The *Wellington Spoken Corpus* (*WSC*)

The *WSC* corpus contains a selection of different spoken NzE texts compiled from 1988 to 1994. The total number of words amounts to 1,000,000, distributed into 15 categories, which represent different degrees of formality: from highly formal

speech, such as Parliamentary debate (DGU), to very informal speech, such as Conversation (DPC) (cf. Table 9 below).

Table 9. Distribution of *WSC* text-types and word targets

TEXT-TYPE	WORD TARGET
DGB Radio talkback	80,000
DGI Broadcast interview	80,000
DGU Parliamentary debate	20,000
DGZ Transactions and meetings	100,000
DPC Conversation	500,000
DPF Telephone conversations	70,000
DPH Oral history interview	20,000
DPP Social dialect interview	30,000
MUC Sports commentary	20,000
MUJ Judge's summation	4,000
MUL Lecture	28,000
MUS Teacher monologue	12,000
MSN Broadcast news	24,000
MST Broadcast monologue	10,000
MSW Broadcast weather	2,000
TOTAL	1,000,000

In all texts coded identification and other symbols are present, as shown in example (68) below.

(68) *<&>Wellington Corpus of Spoken NzE Version One</&>*
<&>Copyright 1998 School of Linguistics & Applied Language Studies</&> <&>Victoria University of Wellington</&>
<&>side two</&>
<&>0:24</&>
<WSC#DGB004:0005:HS>
so what HAPPENS if <.>you're</.> if you're made redundant <,> through no fault of your own

<WSC#DGB004:0010:Z1>

<.>they</.> they have a labour shortage in fact <&>clears throat and laughs</&>

Table 10 below summarises the main features of the nine corpora used in my study.

Table 10. Summarised information of the nine corpora used in the present study

	Medium	**Dialect**	**Total number of words analysed**	**Date of composition of texts**
LOB	Written	BrE	1,000,000	1960s
FLOB	Written	BrE	1,000,000	1990s
BROWN	Written	AmE	1,000,000	1960s
FROWN	Written	AmE	1,000,000	1990s
ACE	Written	AusE	926,000	1980s
WWC	Written	NzE	1,000,000	1980s
LLC	Spoken	BrE	500,000	1960s-1990s
CSPAE	Spoken	AmE	1,000,000	1990s
WSC	Spoken	NzE	1,000,000	1980s

1.3. Some Problems Found with the Corpus Used

The first step in my analysis of the data from the nine corpora described in the preceding sections has been the localisation of the different variants of negation at issue. Given the size of the corpus, the computer program WordSmith Tools version 3.0 has been used in order to identify the different negative forms of the operators under investigation. The use of such tools proves to be a time-saving and labour-saving method of data collection. It must be acknowledged, however, that the automatic search of variants unavoidably makes the researchers confront

new problems. Some of the difficulties I have encountered when working with the selected corpus are discussed in this section.

As mentioned above, all the corpora except *ACE* and *CSPAE* present a format where all the lines are preceded by codes. These codes are recognised as part of the text by the computer program WordSmith. Therefore, if the search is, for instance, *has not,* the computer program would not recognise examples such as the one in (69) below.

(69) *A21 201 |^Selection in the test line-up to play France in Toulouse A21 202 would bring a deserved change of fortune for Shelford who* ***has A21 203 not*** *had much to cheer him since the Cavaliers' venture.* (*WWC* A21 201-203)

In order to solve this problem, the search has to be formulated as *has* plus *not* within a number of words. The obvious question which arises here is: how many words can be inserted between the operator and *not*? In the case of the codes at the beginning of each line of the texts, 'four words to the right of the operator' is enough to locate the operator followed by *not*. However, I have formulated the search as '15 words to the right', since sometimes adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, or even clauses are introduced between the operator and the negator. In this respect, consider example (70) below.

(70) ***Had the coming in of death not*** *made the successive generations follow the death of those that preceded them, the full tale of those chosen either before or since the overthrow of the world would have been early reached, and the translation from Adam to Christ effected*

and the different spheres of predestinated glory entered. (*LOB* D12 110-114)

In this example, the subject of *had not*, namely *the coming in of death*, is inserted between the operator and the negative particle. This subject contains five words; therefore, if the search were formulated as 'four words to the right', this example would not be recognised by WordSmith. As it is impossible to ascertain the maximum length of the element(s) inserted between the operator and *not*, I have considered that '15 words to the right' could be enough. However, I am well aware that there may be examples in which the element(s) inserted is/are longer than 15 words and which, therefore, have not been included in the count.

In this connection, the search in *WSC* is somewhat more complicated than in the case of the other corpora, since it includes in the text not only codification indicating text-type and its corresponding subdivisions, but also codes referring to extralinguistic characteristics. All these characters are counted as words within the text by the computer program WordSmith. For instance, in example (71) below, the operator *is* and the negative particle *not* are separated not only by the adverb *probably*, but also by the codes *<&>6:00</&> <laughs>*.

(71) *arrived in the er the hottest june day on record in sydney it was twenty six which* ***is <&>6:00</&> <laughs>probably not*** *<{><[>bad</[> even for this time of year</laughs>.* (*WSC*#DPC308:0515:NG)

Other times codes are inserted in the middle of a word, which makes the sequence almost unreadable, as in example (72) below. In this example the subject

of *is not* is '*Secretary General P<*_>e-acute<*/>rez de Cu<*_>e-acute<*/>llar*'. I had to remove the codes from the text in order to know that the subject is *Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar*.

(72) *B02 31 [...]Secretary General*
*B02 32 P<*_>e-acute<*/>rez de Cu<*_>e-acute<*/>llar* ***is not*** *an easy man to*
B02 33 read, yet his reaction yesterday to the news was distinctly
B02 34 hesitant. (*FLOB* B02 31-34)

On the other hand, when the codes are inserted in the middle of the word for which I am searching, the word is not identified by the WordSmith program. If the item searched for is, for instance, *wouldn't* or *not*, and some codes are present within these words, as in examples (73) to (75) below, then this "new word" is not recognised by the computer program as the selected item.

(73) *^But a serious person who read no bunk at all* ***\5wouldn8t*** *come off too well; the thing is not to be *1rapt *0by it.* (*LOB* R07 147-149)

(74) *((well it* ***^w\ouldnt*** *be 'so))* it* ***^w\ouldn't*** *be 'so.* (*LLC* S2 8a 74 5890 1 3 B 13 1)

(75) *I'****m "^n\/ot*** *'worried* about it 'actually# -/ I ^don't know if there's any suggestion that you/ have to keep \up with 'anybody 'else any m/ore#/ *you're ^on your !\own r/eally#*.* (*LLC* S2 5b 28 8790 1 1 C 11 2 - 5b 29 8810 1 1 B 11 2)

Example (73) above with *\5wouldn8t* has been traced by chance when searching for the form *is not*, which appears in the following context. However, no further instances of the same type have been included in the count since it is very difficult to know which code(s) can be inserted within a given word. By contrast, in the

case of examples (74) and (75), both taken from the *LLC*, things are somewhat clearer, since codes such as \ or / occur repeatedly in the middle of words in the corpus. Thus, the search in *LLC* has taken into account these and similar codes within a word. All in all, I am aware that other codes may have gone unnoticed and, therefore, relevant examples may occasionally have been missed out.

Another important problem I had to face when dealing with the spoken corpora is related to the interaction between speakers. Sometimes certain features, such as, for instance, the subject of the operator under analysis, are difficult to identify, because they may be mentioned in a previous speech by the same speaker or even in another speaker's words, as example (76) below clearly illustrates.

(76) *<WSC#DGB050:1120:HG>*
<{><[>well</[> by the time they've taken their tax out of that and you pay twelve and a half percent g s t you didn't really have a lot left to spend did you
<WSC#DGB050:1125:Z4>
<[>exactly</[></{>
<WSC#DGB050:1130:Z4>
exactly
<WSC#DGB050:1135:HG>
and that's at ten bucks an hour so for ***people*** *earning less than that*
<WSC#DGB050:1140:Z4>
are are not *getting very much*

In this example, there are two different speakers, namely HG and Z4. If I want to identify the subject of *are not* occurring in the speech of Z4, I have to consider the

preceding context, not only the speech of the Z4 speaker, but also that of HG. This means that the search and the analysis of the variants have to be done taking into account the complexity of spoken texts.

Finally, example (77) below serves as an illustration of the inherent difficulty of some instances from the corpus analysed in the present study.

(77) *F22 85 <p_>Blood, semen, and saliva are all excellent media for F23 85 [...] This ensures that the school-age population F22 86 determining a DNA match. DNA (deox<?_>-<?/>yribonucleic acid) is F23 86 will become even less a product of what we call 'Western F22 87 the blueprint of a person's genetic makeup and is absolutely unique F23 87 civilization' in the future."<quote/> Multiculturalism, said F22 88 for each individual. Contrary to common belief, hair will not F23 88 another correspondent, <quote_>"is not an attempt to address the F22 89 reveal a person's DNA pattern. [..]F23 89 social problems of African-Americans.* (*FROWN* F22 85-89, F23 85-89)

Here texts F22 and F23 from *FROWN* are intermingled, i.e. in this paragraph two different texts coexist. While the first text (F22) is devoted to the topic of "DNA," F23 deals with "multiculturalism." However, if the reading is unbroken when a new code appears, then the text makes no sense. It is, therefore, necessary to stop the reading before a new code and continue it when the same code appears. The correct division of the two texts is shown under (78).

(78) a. *F22 85 <p_>Blood, semen, and saliva are all excellent media for F22 86 determining a DNA match. DNA (deox<?_>-<?/>yribonucleic acid) is F22 87 the blueprint of a person's genetic makeup and is absolutely unique F22 88 for each individual. Contrary to common belief, hair will not F22 89 reveal a person's DNA pattern.*

b. *F23 85 [...] This ensures that the school-age population F23 86 will become even less a product of what we call 'Western F23 87 civilization' in the future."<quote/> Multiculturalism, said F23 88 another correspondent, <quote_>"is not an attempt to address the F23 89 social problems of African-Americans.*

In order to make examples more readable and avoid unnecessary complications, all codes have been removed from the illustrative instances quoted in the following sections. Relevant information on the type of text and its corresponding subdivisions will be given between brackets at the end of each example, except for those cases in which two (or more) speakers are interacting. In such instances, codes will be placed at the beginning of the speech of each of the participants in the conversation.

2. Negative Forms Excluded from the Present Study

As mentioned in Sections II.1. and II. 4., this study is devoted to those operators which accept the three possibilities of clausal negation, i.e. the forms selected are: *am not*, *are not*, *is not*, *'m not*, *'re not*, *'s not* (corresponding both to *is* and to *has*), *ain't*, *aren't*, *isn't*, *have not*, *has not*, *had not*, *'ve not*, *'d not* (referring both to *had* and to *would*), *haven't*, *hasn't*, *hadn't*, *will not*, *'ll not* (both for *will* and for *shall*), *won't*, *shall not*, *shan't*, *would not* and *wouldn't.*

However, not all the occurrences of these forms recorded in the corpus have been included in the total count. Thus, for example, in (79) and (80) below, the sequences in bold type cannot be counted as occurrences of negation in the corpus, since in the former example *will* is not an operator but a noun, meaning 'wish,' and in the latter *is not* is part of an editorial comment and not of the spoken text.

(79) *She had forgotten how it felt to be touched and found desirable, to want with a* ***will not*** *one's own.* (*FROWN* K05 12-14)

(80) a. *it's upstairs or next door mm <&>AM talks through next two turns and* ***is not*** *transcribed</&>.* (*WSC*#DPC073:0225:JG)

b. *where's my phone <&>This section* ***is not*** *transcribed as it is a conversation between A and the daughter</&>.* (*WSC*#DPC169:0825:X2) [55]

The number of examples excluded from the total count amounts to 953. In what follows, I will deal individually with the different types of exclusions. A first group is related to subclausal negation (Section 2.1. below); Section 2.2., in turn,

[55] In examples of this kind all codes have been removed with the exception of those which are markers of editorial comments.

is concerned with some neutralised forms; Sections 2.3. and 2.4. will be devoted to the negative forms of the operator *shall* and to those *had better* and *would rather*, respectively, and finally, other exclusions will be analysed in Section 2.5.

2.1. Subclausal Negation

One of the problems found in the analysis of the corpus data is whether to classify some examples as cases of clausal negation, and, thus, included in the study, or, by contrast, as cases of subclausal negation, where the negative particle *not* does not affect the whole clause but only part of it. This section will be concerned with those examples in which negation occurs precisely at subclausal level. The patterns discussed in this section include the following: (a) examples in which the negative particle *not* does not follow the first operator, but the second one or even the main verb; (b) instances in which the operator and the negator are separated by intervening elements, such as adverbs; (c) examples in which *not* takes part in coordinating correlatives; and (d) other instances of subclausal negation which cannot be included in any of the preceding groups. The total number of examples of subclausal negation in the corpus amounts to 710.

(a) The negator does not follow the first operator (9 examples).

Examples (81) to (87) below illustrate a type of construction in which the VP contains more than one operator, and the negator *not* follows the second one.

(81) *There would then* ***have not*** *been necessary the thousands of years which the ages span, and none of the "tares" would have challenged*

by true seed and occupied so much of their territory. (*LOB* D12 35-38)

(82) *When he remembered that he might* ***have not*** *signed the check, Mercer made out another for the same amount, instructing the bank to destroy the other especially if he had happened to have absent-mindedly signed both of them.* (*BROWN* G39 0730-0760)

(83) *They may, indeed,* ***have not*** *liked what they saw but they only had themselves to blame.* (*ACE* G59)

(84) *No magistrate with a trace of human feeling could* ***have not*** *responded to the mournful look on the dog's face nor would he have dared to have failed to respond to the reaction of everyone in the court.* (*WWC* G29 126-130)

(85) *oh damn should* ***have not*** *posted that cheque to the um tauranga district council without the parking tick in it.* (*WSC*#DPF051:0115:GB)

(86) *As I said earlier, I said I don't want to suggest there may* ***have not*** *been some new information, but I think it was generally consistent with what we have told you in the past.* (*CSPAE* WH 97A)

(87) *I just must* ***have not*** *quite gotten it right.* (*CSPAE* WH 97B)

As already seen in Section II.3.2.2.2., when one or more operators are present within the VP, *not* can only be contracted with the first one (cf. Culicover 1976: 121; Quirk *et al*. 1989: 374). Therefore, in the examples above there is no possible way to contract the negator, since *not* is said to be attached to the following word, thus constituting a clear example of subclausal negation. Similarly, in (88) and (89) below, the negative particle *not* does not occur after the operator, but follows *have* as a main verb. Thus, once again, the negator takes part in the complement that follows it and it is not part of the VP. These two examples are, therefore, also instances of subclausal negation.

(88) *those of and the majority of maoris i'm not sure this is just a generalisation here would have would have or* ***have not*** *that backup.* (*WSC*#DGI 167:0155:IM)

(89) *The box was on the floor by the bed, and next to it the pile of unused answering tapes, all methodically labelled in Philip's neat handwriting so that Kate should have* ***had not*** *trouble in picking out the right one.* (*FLOB* L08 142-145)

The constitutions of the VPs in examples (81) to (89) are shown in (81a) to (89a) below.

(81a)	*would* [...]	*have*	*not*	*been*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(82a)	*might*	*have*	*not*	*signed*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(83a)	*may* [...]	*have*	*not*	*liked*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(84a)	*could*	*have*	*not*	*responded*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(85a)	*should*	*have*	*not*	*posted*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(86a)	*may*	*have*	*not*	*been*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(87a)	*must*	*have*	*not*[...]	*gotten*
	Operator	Operator	Negator	Main verb
(88a)	*would* [...]	*have*	*not*	
	Operator	Main verb	Negator	
(89a)	*should*	*have*	*had*	*not*
	Operator	Operator	main verb	Negator

(b) Pattern operator + adverbial + *not* (478 instances).

This group of examples comprises those instances in which the operator and the negative particle *not* are separated by different adverbial forms, which according to Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 806), serve "to dissociate the *not* from the auxiliary." Consider in this respect the examples under (90) below:

(90) a. They ***are, unfortunately, still not*** high enough. (*LOB* E34 79)

b. *Men **are simply not** women, **not** girls, **not** boys, and **certainly not** poofters.* (*WWC* F15 072-073)

c. *Reliance **is therefore not** to be placed upon the archaeological particulars in an oral poem; no-one today would hope to discover the unmistakable ruins of Heorot or the palace of Priam.* (*BROWN* J67 1270-1290)

d. *If you're going to generate reports that are useful, because just having one number **is really not** very useful.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6A/97)

Examples (90a) and (90b) above constitute clear cases of subclausal negation, where *not* affects only one part of the clause. Examples (90c) and (90d), on the other hand, are more difficult to classify, since *not* can be interpreted as negating either the whole clause or just one part of it. If the speaker makes a pause between the adverb and the negator, the latter can be seen as being attached to the following words and not to the preceding operator. In such a case, a negative tag can be added, which indicates that the example involves subclausal negation (cf. examples (91a-b) below.

(91) a. *Reliance **is therefore not** to be placed upon the archaeological particulars in an oral poem* […] ***isn't it**?*

b. […] *because just having one number **is really not** very useful, **isn't it**?*

By contrast, if there is no such pause, the negator can be interpreted as affecting the operator, and the tag is positive, in which case negation is at clause level (cf. examples under (92) below).

(92) a. *Reliance* ***is therefore not*** *to be placed upon the archaeological particulars in an oral poem* […] ***is it****?*

b. […] *because just having one number* ***is really not*** *very useful,* ***is it****?*

In the case of those spoken corpora which mark the presence of emphasis on the negator in some way as, for instance, example (93) below[56] (cf. also Section 3.2.1.), it is relatively easy to opt for either clausal or subclausal negation.

(93) *somebody who drafts a tax* ***is simply 'not*** *aware of* (*LLC* S1 13 12410140 1 1 B 11 - 13 12410150 1 1 B 11)

However, most of the examples found with an adverbial between the operator and the negator are difficult to classify as belonging to one or the other type, and, thus, two different analyses could, in principle, be proposed for (90c-d) and similar instances. In view of this, I elaborated a questionnaire in order to check a number of examples of this kind with some native speakers (cf. Appendix A). I selected six informants at random, who were asked to: (a) paraphrase the sentences, (b) give a possible question tag, (c) translate them into Spanish, and (d) add a clause with *neither*. Four of my informants considered that all the sentences provided were negated at clause level, while the remaining two assigned some of the examples to the clause level and others to subclausal level. Thus, in view of such ambiguity and following Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 806), I have decided not to include in my study all those examples which contain an adverbial between the operator and the negator, as my earlier instances (90) and (91) above.

[56] The emphasis on the negator in sentence (93) is marked by the apostrophe before the negator, which indicates that *not* is attached to the following word. Thus, example (93) is a case of subclausal negation.

Nevertheless, I am well aware that at least some of the instances of this kind are liable to be interpreted in a different way.

(c) Coordinating correlatives (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 611) (219 examples).

The third group of examples included in this section comprises, on the one hand, those instances in which the negator takes part in a coordinated structure of the type *not ... but*, and, on the other, those cases where *not* is followed by *only*/*just*/*merely* which can also be coordinated with *but* (*also/even*). Illustrative examples of the former construction are given in (94) to (97) below.

(94) *I really don't have an answer, John, on how you can do both easily, other than the fact that I would like to see some balance so that it's just* ***not*** *a multiple choice and short answer,* ***but*** *also some constructed response.* (*CSPAE* Math Com 6/97)

(95) *And this point is, of course,* ***not*** *that Fischer is a better sociologist than Anderson* ***but*** *that he has an enormous advantage over Anderson in being able to generate his own data rather than having to rely on whatever relics might happen to be extant.* (*FLOB* J30 126-130)

(96) *Finally, the crux of this matter is surely* ***not*** *wages,* ***but*** *spending power.* (*LOB* B09 71-72)

(97) *Functionalism as a sociological credo is, therefore,* ***not*** *a direct consequence of observations,* ***but*** *rather an indirect consequence of philosophical inference J51 0370 and judgment.* (*BROWN* J51 0340-03770)

In these examples, what is negated is/are the word(s) following *not*, and not the word(s) preceding the negator. Therefore, examples of this kind are considered cases of subclausal negation.

As regards *not* followed by *only*/*just*/*merely*, it is generally acknowledged that, in such combinations, the negation is to be interpreted as subclausal (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 611). The sequence *not* + *only* is normally followed by the conjunction *but* or *but also*/*even*, thus forming a coordinating structure, as shown in (98) below.

(98) *From this perspective general ability ('calibre')* ***is not only*** *a confused and unscientific concept* ***but also*** *a biased and ideologically oppressive one.* (*WWC* G54 161-164)

Both words (*not only*) tend to form a single structure and they may be moved together to another position, without altering the polarity and the meaning of the clause. For instance, *not* + *only* may be placed in preverbal position, so that the negator cannot be fused with the operator, as shown in example (98a) below.

(98) a. *From this perspective* ***not only is*** *general ability ('calibre') a confused and unscientific concept* ***but also*** *a biased and ideologically oppressive one.*

Example (98) above should, therefore, be analysed in the following terms:

(98) b. *From this perspective general ability ('calibre')* ***is <not only>*** *a confused and unscientific concept but also a biased and ideologically oppressive one.*

and not as in (98c):

(98) c. *From this perspective general ability ('calibre')* ***<is not> only*** *a confused and unscientific concept but also a biased and ideologically oppressive one.*

The assignment of instances like (98) to the domain of subclausal negation implies that, in principle, NotCs are not allowed. Nevertheless, I have recorded six examples in my corpus with the operator *be* in which the NotC occurs in a *not only* structure. These are examples (99) to (104) below.

(99) *Mr Kinnock* ***isn't only*** *against further modernisation of the unions.* (*FLOB* B14 85-86)

(100) *Sad to say, it* ***isn't only*** *in the UK that paper proof of investments is disappearing.* (*FLOB* F21 180-181)

(101) *The group* ***isn't only*** *for people who have had breakdowns.* (*WWC* A41 243)

(102) *it* ***isn't only*** *lords* (*LLC* S5 5 22 3870 1 1 a 11)

(103) *That this* ***isn't only*** *about basketball tickets.* (*CSPAE* North Carol 95)

(104) *they seem quite keen to foster golf for the girls for some reason but it isn't it isn't in fact only our school and it* ***isn't only*** *girls but they've offered free coaching to anybody who's interested between nine thirty and eleven on sunday mornings about twice a month* (*WSC*#DPC170:1000:JU)

In such instances, the negator is fused with the operator, thus indicating that *not* belongs to the operator and not to the following phrase. Notice also that in these cases the expression *not only* cannot be moved to another position (cf. example (99a), which is an ungrammatical sentence).

(99) a. **** isn't only*** *Mr Kinnock against further modernisation of the unions.*

All this evidence seems to indicate that, in examples (99) to (104), the negation functions at the clause level. Nevertheless, I have decided to exclude these six

examples from the total count, since they represent a very low proportion out of the total of *not only* structures in the corpus (3.17%, six out of 189 examples). I believe, however, that the occurrence of NotC in *not only* constructions may be an innovative feature which may gain ground and may eventually become more commonly used, since all the examples recorded belong to the most recent corpora.

(d) Other instances of subclausal negation. (4 instances)

Examples (105) to (107) below have also been excluded from the present study. As is well-known, contractions are only possible with finite verb forms. The verb form in these examples is, however, non-finite, more specifically an infinitive preceded by *to*, so that contractions are not allowed.

(105) *All the national organizations that are connected in one way or another to the National Test Panel get invitations are encouraged* ***to have not just*** *a national representative,* ***but*** *a local and a state folks participate.* (*CSPAE* Math Com 6/97)

(106) *And then, most importantly, even after this draft is given, the document is given to General Administration, I encourage all of you to keep in mind Stirling's role as a member of the System-wide committee for any input you want* ***to have, not just*** *about this document,* ***but****, too, directly to General Administration about what they do with this and the other 15 they'll receive.* (*CSPAE* North Carol 96)

(107) *It was just simply the building seemed* ***to have not*** *kept up with the vitality of the institution.* (*CSPAE* North Carol 95)

Notice also that examples (105) and (107) are related to the previous group of subclausal negation, since *not* is followed by *just* and is coordinated by means of *but*.

The last example of subclausal negation excluded from the present study is the following:

(108) *yes the aussies just haven't looked like breaching midfield* ***have they not*** *anywhere not yet.* (*WSC*#MUC002:1395:JM)

At first sight, in this example the negator *not* seems to form part of a VP in which the operator is followed by the subject and the negator (*have they not*). However, the previous context allows us to conclude that the operator and the subject (*have they*) form a positive question tag to the preceding sentence, which is negative at clause level. Therefore, the negative particle *not* affects the following element *anywhere* and constitutes an example of subclausal negation. In view of this, sentence (108) above has to be analysed in the following way:

(108) a. *yes the aussies just haven't looked like breaching midfield* ***have they*** *<**not** anywhere> < not yet>*

2.2. Neutralised Forms

This section is devoted to the neutralised forms *'s not* and *ain't*, which may correspond to two different operators.[57] As mentioned above (cf. Sections II.1.

[57] Other instances of neutralised forms recorded in the corpus are *'ll* and *'d*. The former corresponds to both *will* and *shall*, and will be analysed in Section 2.3. below. In turn, the form *'d* stands for both *had* and *would*. However, all the examples recorded with such a form are clearly differentiated as belonging to either the *have* or the *would* operator.

and III.2.), *'s not* may be the OpeC of both *is not* and *has not* (see examples (109a) and (109b) respectively below).

(109) a. *Oh, no-o! Why, he's so darling and" "I mean," I went on ruthlessly, "when he**'s not** talking about you or himself or the wonders of love, is he interesting? Does he care about things that matter to you?*. (*BROWN* B08 1110-1150)

b. *"He**'s not** been right since the time he spent in a German prisoner- of-war camp."* (*ACE* P08)

In these and similar examples, it is relatively easy to distinguish between the two possible forms for which *'s not* may stand. Thus, while in example (109a) above it clearly corresponds to *is not*, in example (109b) it stands for *has not*. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Consider in this respect the following examples:

(110) *"The town**'s not** changed at all, perhaps because it's so small, so inaccessible.* (*FLOB* A17 143-144)

(111) *"Stephen**'s not** come home," Alan said, pushing the door closed behind her.* (*LOB* P26 184-185)

In these two instances both *is not* and *has not* are possible readings. Examples (110) and (111) illustrate a periphrastic perfect construction of the type auxiliary verb plus past participle of the main verb. Therefore, the most immediate interpretation is that *'s not* corresponds to *has not*. Nevertheless, the verb *be* could also be used as an auxiliary for the perfect in earlier stages of the English language (cf. Friden 1948: 43ff and Denison 1998: 135ff, among many others). In OE times *be* was used to form the perfect of so-called intransitive mutative verbs, i.e. those indicating a change of place or state, while the perfect with *have* was

basically found with transitive verbs (cf. Kytö 1997: 17, among others). Little by little, however, the verb *have* started gaining ground with intransitive verbs too, until it became the only productive perfective marker in English. In PDE there are, however, some remnants of the *be*-perfect, especially with prototypical mutative verbs such as *come, go, grow, become,* etc. If the perfect of these verbs is made with either the uncontracted form or with the NotC, there is no possible confusion between the auxiliaries *be* and *have*. However, when the OpeC is selected, there are some cases where the distinction between the *be*-perfect and the *have*-perfect is not clear enough, as happens in examples (110) and (111) above. In view of this, such instances have not been included in the count.

Syncretism is also relevant to the form *ain't*. As seen in Table 1 (Section II.1. above), *ain't* may correspond to all persons of the present of *be*, to all persons of the present of *have* and even to the whole of the paradigm of *do*. In my corpus no examples of *ain't* as a contraction of negative forms of the verb *do* have been found, all my instances being parallel to (112a) and (112b) below, where *ain't* corresponds to forms of be and *have* respectively.

(112) a. *You know, that Bone, he's jus' a ignorant nigger, he* ***ain't*** *very bright, he's rode with half-weights.* (*ACE* L08)

b. *"Remember how she looked when Barney held the door for her? Kinda like a zombie? She was just waking up when we found her at the garage." Vince swore. "Stupid fools-* ***ain't*** *got enough brains between the two of you"- Grosse muttered, his head down, one hand playing with the zipper on his jacket. "-had enough brains to call ya up so as ya could do sompin about it*

when the parents- I could let her go go."- (*BROWN* L03 0530-0590)

In principle, the use of *ain't* instead of the NotCs of the verbs *be* or *have* is not a problem, since it is relatively easy to distinguish between *ain't* functioning as a NotC of *be* (as in (112a)) or as a NotC of *have* (112b). Nevertheless, there is one occurrence in my corpus where the distinction between *be* and *have* may be somewhat more difficult. This is given as (113) below.

(113) *He* ***ain't*** *gone far."* (*BROWN* N14 1500-1510)

In this example *ain't* is clearly the operator of a periphrastic construction expressing the perfect. As mentioned above for *'s not*, in PDE there are still some remnants of the operator *be* as a perfective auxiliary, mainly with those high-frequency mutative verbs such as *come* or *go*. Thus, in example (113) above, *ain't* is, once again, a neutralised form between the two operators, and, as such, has been excluded from the overall count.

2.3. Negative Forms of *Shall*

As mentioned above, the third group of exclusions comprises the negative forms of *shall*. According to some scholars, such as Leech (1971: 77ff), *shall* has the three alternatives to negate, its OpeC being *'ll not*, identical in form to that of *will*. However, from a historical point of view, *'ll* is the contraction of *will* rather than that of *shall* (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 122f).

In principle, syncretism between the two operators would affect only the first person, both singular and plural, since it is generally acknowledged that in PDE *shall* has become almost restricted to the first person (see examples (114a-f) below).

(114) a. ***I'll not*** *be jealous of your work.* (*LOB* P13 137)

b. *"Fossick on the surface if you must but it's Sunday, the day of rest, a damn miserable one at that and my advice to you is to take the rest and think hard about what I've said, for I promise you* ***I'll not*** *stay in this place much longer."* (*FLOB* N06 36-39)

c. *We* ***'ll not*** *talk out of one side of our mouth in Morris County and out of the other side in Hudson.* (*BROWN* A06 1450-1470)

d. *"We* ***'ll not*** *rest," said Cunningham, obviously quoting something or someone, "until the scourge of Mobius is lifted from the land.* (*FROWN* N20 82-84)

e. ***I'll not*** *have one four-eyed mayor spending my money for me.* (*WWC* K75 149-150)

f. ***I'll not*** *bother to tell you all what I've put in the letter.* (*LLC* S9 21 7 6700 1 2 A 1212)

However, in my corpus uncontracted *shall* has been found to occur with all grammatical persons, as shown by examples (115a-d) below.

(115) a. *The maximum amount of payments which may be made pursuant to this Act on account of sales of newly mined ores or concentrates produced therefrom made during the calendar year 1962* ***shall not*** *exceed $4,500,000; the maximum amount of such payments which may be made on account of such sales made during the calendar year 1963* ***shall not*** *exceed $4,500,000; the maximum amount of such payments which may be made on account of such sales made during the calendar year 1964* ***shall not*** *exceed $4,000,000; and the maximum amount of such*

payments which may be made on account of such sales made during the calendar year 1965 ***shall not*** *exceed $3,500,000.* (*BROWN* H09 1900-1990)

b. *I* ***shall not*** *live very long.* (*ACE* G74a)

c. *The man had looket at her with murder in his eyes, and started talking about love thy neighbour and thou shall and* ***shall not****.* (*FLOB* K25 102-103)

d. *Liberal Premier Stout, the author of the Act, stated that the examination syllabus would be drawn up so that 'pupils of the town secondary schools* ***shall not*** *have all the advantages... competitors in the country districts shall have an equal chance with them.'* (*WWC* J57 106-110)

In view of this, if I admit that *'ll* stands for both *shall* and *will*, irrespective of the grammatical person of the subject, all occurrences of *'ll not* should be taken as neutralised forms between the two operators, and, as such, should not be included in the total count. However, an obvious problem arises here: I would be left with no distinctive OpeC for *will*, so that this operator should be excluded from the analysis as well. The problem is solved if I take into account historical information and maintain that *'ll* is the contraction of *will* rather than of both *shall* and *will*.

Although the examples with *shall* have, therefore, not been included in the count, a few words seem in order concerning the negative forms of this operator in the corpus. The number of examples with negative forms of *shall* in the different corpora analysed amounts to 116. The distribution of these examples is shown in Table 11 below.

Table 11. Negative *shall* in the corpus

	UncNs	NotCs	TOTAL
LOB	33	5	38
FLOB	14	3	17
BROWN	18	1	19
FROWN	3	1	4
ACE	8	-	8
WWC	8	1	9
LLC	9	9	18
CSPAE	2	-	2
WSC	1	-	1
TOTAL	**96**	**20**	**116**

The most immediate insight to be drawn from the above table is that *shall* is used in all dialects and both in written and in spoken texts. As seen in Table 11, the UncN form is the predominant option (82.76%). Nevertheless, 20 examples with *shan't* have been recorded in the corpus (see examples under (116) below), all of them with a first person (singular or plural) subject. This contrasts with what scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 122) affirm about the non-existence of the form *shan't* in AmE and its sporadic occurrence in BrE (cf. footnote 8 above). Judging from the data in Table 11, the form *shan't* is apparently decreasing, since the proportion of examples in the corpora from the 1960s is higher than that from the most recent corpora. However, the most striking feature from the data in this table is the relatively large number of occurrences recorded in spoken BrE. Nevertheless, all the examples with *shan't* recorded in the *LLC* corpus appear in texts dated from 1964 to 1976, thus testifying to the decrease in the use of the form from the 1960s onwards.

(116) a. *We **shan't** starve overnight anyway.* (*LOB* K17 105)

b. *If it's just a professional relationship you want, then it's a pity, because I **shan't** give up.* (*FLOB* P06 142-143)

c. *A Clerfayt may moon on about the face of Death in the cockpit; a Portago could say, as he did say to me, "If I die tomorrow, still I have had twenty-eight wonderful years; but I **shan't** die tomorrow; I'll live to be 105."* (*BROWN* C16 0570-0610)

d. *"I wonder whether I **shan't** apply for an LST command in the Pacific," I said moodily.* (*FROWN* K04 136-137)

e. *"We **shan't** be there for long, the girls and Richard and I, but my older sons are well settled."* (*WWC K07* 199-200)

f. *We **shan't** see him again.* (*LLC* S4 5 85 7290 1 1 a 11)

Three of the examples with UncNs found in the *LOB* corpus merit special consideration. These are given under (117) below.

(117) a. *And if thou wilt make an Altar of stone, thou **shalt not** build it of hewn stone, for if thou lift up thy sword upon it, thou hast polluted it."* (*LOB* D04 3-5)

b. *Thou **shalt not** steal. Thou **shalt not** kill. Thou **shalt not** commit adultery.* (*LOB* D16 181-182)

c. *'I am a lifelong vegetarian' 'I believe in the biblical injunction "thou **shalt not** kill".'* (*LOB* G25 5-6)

In these examples the operator *shall* appears in a very archaic form, *shalt*, typical of the ME and eModE periods for the second person singular in connection with the personal pronoun *thou*. Some remnants of *shalt* can still be found in very conservative examples in PDE, mainly in religious texts, as in (117a-b) above (Cat D). In the case of example (117c), although the form *shalt* occurs in a text

which belongs to Belles lettres, biography and essays (Cat G), it appears within a quotation taken from the Bible.

2.4. *Had Better* and *Would Rather*

The fourth group of examples excluded from the overall count comprises the occurrences of negated *had better* and *would rather*, two expressions usually considered as semi-modals (cf. Biber *et al*. 1999: 73),[58] since they do not fulfil all the typical characteristics of modal verbs.

In principle, the two semi-modal expressions *had better* and *would rather* share with other operators the three different ways of marking negation: UncN (cf. (118) below), OpeC (cf. (119) below) and NotC (cf. (120) below).[59]

(118) *I **would rather not** go into the details in Cyprus.* (*CSPAE* North Carol 97)

(119) *"He**'d better not**!" exclaimed Wakington-Snell with surprising vehemence.* (*ACE* L07)

(120) *"**Wouldn't you rather** be flying one of those?" he shouted across the engine roar.* (*FLOB N01* 164-165*)*

Grammarians like the Evanses (1957: 205) or Quirk *et al.* (1985: 141f), among others, maintain that both *had better* and *would rather* prefer uncontracted negation, since they are treated as a single idea and should not be split. As regards the use of NotCs with these two semi-modals, Quirk *et al*. (1985: 141f) and

[58] Alternative labels are 'quasi-modals' and 'periphrastic modals' (Biber *et al*. 1999: 484) or 'modal idioms' (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 141).

[59] Jacobson (1980: 50) uses the labels 'modal negation' and 'main-verb negation' to refer to NotCs and uncontracted negatives respectively with *had better* and *would rather*.

Denison (1998: 173) affirm that they are restricted to occur in interrogative negative clauses, as in (120) above. Quirk *et al*. (1985: 141) also mention that sometimes the choice of *had better not* and *hadn't better* or *would rather not* and *wouldn't rather* is associated with different meanings, as the examples below demonstrate.

(121) a. *Had we better not go?* [= 'Would it be advisable if we didn't go?']
b. *Hadn't we better go?* [= 'I think we had better go; don't you agree?']

By contrast, Palmer (1974: 160) cites "'*I hadn't better go*' without further comment and without any mention of the more generally acceptable '*I had better not go*'" (quoted from Jacobson 1980: 50). Similarly, Jespersen (1954: 183) comments that the negative is attracted to *had* in the expression *had better*. In this connection, Jacobson (1980: 50) suggests that such an attraction may have been induced by regular questions: '*Hadn't you better wait?*'. Finally, Palmer (1990: 167) maintains that *had better* and *would rather* only have UncNs and NotCs. However, the NotC example he provides (cf. example (122) below) is, once again, an interrogative negative.

(122) *Who wouldn't rather die in a ditch than a pool?*

The overall number of examples with *had better* and *would rather* found in the nine corpora analysed amounts to 29, distributed as shown in Table 12 below.

Table 12. Negation of *had better* and *would rather*

	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	Total
Had better	2	7	3	12
Would rather	5	11	1	17
TOTAL	7	18	4	29

As can be seen, OpeCs predominate over NotCs and uncontracted forms in the corpus. Furthermore, a detailed examination of the examples of NotCs with these two semi-modals confirms the aforementioned restriction of this negative form to occur in interrogative negative clauses (cf. ex. (120) above), since all my examples of NotCs with these operators are found in interrogative negatives. This seems to suggest that the three alternatives of negation with *had better* and *would rather* cannot be regarded as true variants. In view of this, all examples with *had better* and *would rather* have been excluded from the total count.

2.5. Other Exclusions

This subsection is devoted to a number of examples not included in any of the preceding groups, more specifically to those cases in which the codification system used in the corpora under study interrupts the reading of some instances, as in the examples under (123) below.

(123) a. *okay okay your salary your pay**'s <.>not**</.> you're not paid till next week is it.* (*WSC*#DPF048:0160:LB)

b. *we <.>**haven't**</.> <.>h</.> i don't think you've seen our c b o's for that that's why computer starts printing.* (*WSC*#DGZ071:0125:WL)

c. (107) *i* ***am*** ***<.>not***</.> *you didn't let me finish* <,>. (*WSC*#DPC013:0200:TM)

Here, the negator *not*, in the case of examples (123a) and (123c), and the NotC *haven't*, in the case of example (123b), are in between two codes. The first one (<.>) indicates the beginning of incomplete words, while the second (</.>) implies the end of incomplete words. Therefore, the word between such codes is an incomplete word. In view of this, all instances of this kind, 96 examples in all, have been excluded from the count.

3. Negation in the Corpus

Once the examples discussed in the preceding section have been excluded from the count, it is time to analyse the remaining instances. The general data is provided in Section 3.1. In turn, Section 3.2. is devoted to those contexts which inhibit the selection of one of the three alternatives of negation at issue. The analysis of UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs as true variants is presented in Section 3.3., while the individual description of the data in each of the corpora used in the present study is provided in Sections 3.4. (written corpora) and 3.5. (spoken corpora). Comparisons among the different corpora are drawn in Section 3.6. Finally, Section 3.7. is devoted to comparisons of the data in the present piece of research with related studies.

3.1. General Data

The total number of examples found in the corpora amounts to 23,752. These are distributed as shown in Figure 10 and Table 13 below.

Figure 10. Negative examples found in the corpus

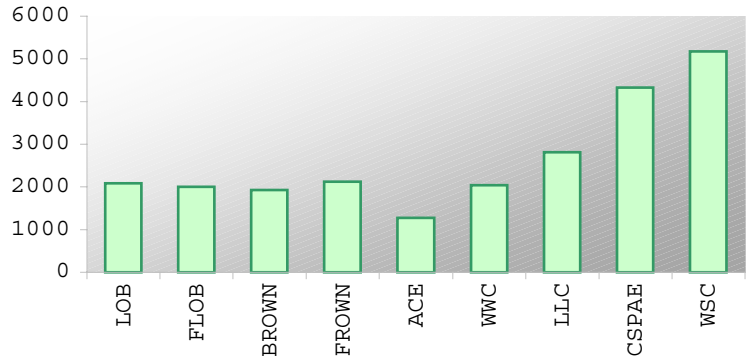
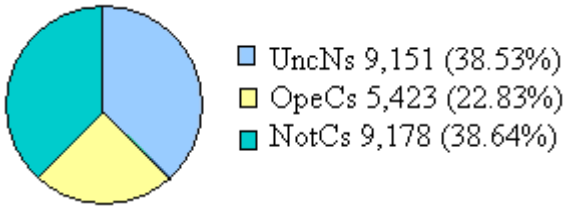


Table 13. Total number of examples in each corpora

	TOTAL
LOB	2,087 (8.79%)
FLOB	2,002 (8.43%)
BROWN	1,921 (8.09%)
FROWN	2,124 (8.94%)
ACE	1,281 (5.39%)
WWC	2,033 (8.56%)
LLC	2,807 (11.82%)
CSPAE	4,321 (18.19%)
WSC	5,176 (21.79%)
TOTAL	**23,752**

The distribution of these 23,752 occurrences as regards the three alternative ways of negation considered in this study is given in Figure 11 below.

Figure 11. UncN/OpeC/NotC in the corpus



The most immediate conclusions to be gained from this figure are, on the one hand, that contracted forms are used to a greater extent than uncontracted ones and, on the other, that, as concerns contractions, NotCs are preferred to OpeCs. The detailed distribution of these forms in the different corpora analysed according to the type of operator is given in Table 14 below. The data in this table evince that medium is an important factor in the variation between uncontracted forms and negative contractions. As can be seen, while in the spoken corpora negative contractions are clearly favoured over uncontracted forms with all operators, in the written corpora contractions are slightly more frequent than uncontracted forms only with *will* (except in *FLOB*), with *have* and *would* in *FROWN* and with *would* in *WWC*. As for contractions, it should be noted that NotCs are more commonly used than OpeCs with all operators in all corpora, with the exception of the *be*-operator in *FLOB*, in *WWC* and in all the spoken corpora (*LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*). This means that, in written BrE texts from the 1960s and in written AmE and AusE texts, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs with *be*.

Table 14. Total number of tokens found in the corpora according to type of operator

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	
LOB	830	111	136	331	8	155	109	5	111[60]	178	3	110	**2,087**
FLOB	722	194	175	229	9	194	119	6	97	129	-	128	**2,002**
BROWN	739	89	174	246	2	160	105	2	105	168	2	129	**1,921**
FROWN	690	257	258	189	2	221	99	2	151	113	1	141	**2,124**
ACE	487	105	120	173	2	80	73	1	75	90	1	74	**1,281**
WWC	731	217	168	247	5	174	115	3	114	124	2	133	**2,033**
LLC	248	760	635	46	40	579	26	4	153	33	1	282	**2,807**
CSPAE	835	1,654	341	302	11	418	135	-	195	157	2	271	**4,321**
WSC	252	1,905	881	32	16	985	21	-	424	28	1	631	**5,176**
TOTAL	**5,534**	**5,292**	**2,888**	**1,795**	**95**	**2,966**	**802**	**23**	**1,425**	**1,020**	**13**	**1,899**	**23,752**

[60] As regards the number of NotCs with the operator *will*, my results differ from those obtained by Berglund (2000: 30). In my study 111 examples of the form *won't* have been identified, while in Berglund's analysis the total number of occurrences of *won't* amounts to 108.

However, the global figures presented so far reveal very little about the actual status of UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs as true alternatives, since, as mentioned in Section II.3.2.2. above, not all the instances recorded allow the interchangeability of the three variants of negation. In a number of knockout contexts, the use of at least one of the three variant forms is prevented. In such cases, therefore, the distribution of UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs is not merely a question of choice between interchangeable elements. The KO contexts found in my corpus are analysed in the following section.

3.2. Knockout Contexts

As mentioned in Section II.3.2.2. above, while UncNs are always possible, the use of the two types of contraction is sometimes blocked. In the corpus I have recorded 4,685 occurrences (19.73% of the total count) which do not freely allow the variation between the three alternatives under study. As in the second chapter (cf. Sections II.3.2.2.1. and II.3.2.2.2. above), blockings in the corpus have been divided into two main types: on the one hand, those instances where OpeC is not possible (cf. Section 3.2.1. below) and, on the other, those KO contexts which do not allow the use of NotCs (cf. Section 3.2.2.).

3.2.1. Knockout Contexts for OpeC

The different contexts which do not allow OpeC in the corpus are the following:

(a) Yes-no questions and *wh*-questions with subject-verb inversion (715 examples).

While UncNs (cf. examples (124a-c) below)[61] and NotCs (cf. examples (125a-d) below) are allowed in clauses of this type, OpeCs are not possible, since there is no host to which the clitic can be attached (examples (124d) and (125e-f) below).

(124) a. ***Will not*** *the righteous congressman be cheered at the polls if he reminds them to get right with America and if he saves the taxpayer some money by spoiling a few of their schemes?*. (*BROWN* F46 0280-0300)

b. *But as his advocate,* ***has Mr. Kendall not*** *tried to make the point that the law does not apply?*. (*CSPAE* WH 97B)

c. *is emily going to have her car or* ***is she not*** *going to have a car.* (*WSC*#DPF012:0645:HJ)

d. * *is emily going to have her car or* ***'s she not*** *going to have a car*

(125) a. ***Wouldn't*** *those same papers now be demanding that Nadir's money should be contributed to the unfortunate shareholders who have seen the value of their holdings melt away?*. (*FLOB* B05 80-82)

b. ***Haven't*** *you sent anything to them?*. (*LLC* S4 2 10 1450 1 1 b 11)

c. ***Wouldn't*** *it make more sense to collapse on the pavement and see if you can find a used cigarette packet to write that will on and a discarded lipstick to substitute as a pen?*. (*WWC* G58 142-G58 144)

d. *Why* ***aren't*** *there any dolphins?" said Ann suddenly.* (*WWC* B18 177)

e. * ***'ve you not*** *sent anything to them?*

[61] In my corpus, all UncNs found in *wh*-questions are cases of split VPs and will, therefore, be analysed in Section 3.2.2. below.

f. * *Why'**re not** there any dolphins?" said Ann suddenly.*

However, some negative interrogative clauses with no subject-verb inversion have been identified, as those in examples (126a-c) below, which, therefore, allow the three alternatives of negation, and, as such, have been included in the count. These clauses without inversion are "identical in form to a declarative, except for the final rising question intonation" (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 814).

(126) a. *You**'re not** hurt?" He sounded anxious.* (*LOB* L16 189-190)

b. *"Yeah, fine" I said "But why are they pushing now? What's de difference? This murder is solved, right?"*
"No, it's not" Connor said
*"it**'s not**?*
"No. That's why we have all the pressure. Obviously, somebody badly wants it to be over. They want us to give it up." (*FROWN* L05 153-160)

c. *"You've known all this time? And you **haven't** told a soul?."* (*ACE* L08)

As regards *wh*-questions, interrogative clauses with *who* call for further comment. As is well known, interrogative clauses with *who* do not show subject-operator inversion, since *who* is the subject of the clause. Thus, clauses of this type allow, in principle, the interchangeability between the three variants under consideration. However, in the corpus no OpeC has been found in an interrogative clause introduced by *who*. Only UncN, as in example (127a), and NotC, as in (127b), have been recorded.

(127) a. ***Who would not*** *choose to be a Whig?* (*LOB* G61 49)

b. *Snagubal doesn't mind the odd one or two -* ***who wouldn't****? - but too many are bad for the digestion."* (*FLOB* N19 53-54)

I have checked with some native speakers whether *who*-interrogative clauses also constitute a KO context for OpeC. My informants answered that they would never use an OpeC with the forms *have, had*, *will* and *would* (e.g. **Who've read this book?*, *Who'd read this book?*, **Who'll read this book?* or **Who'd read this book?*), but most of them agreed that this negative construction is possible with the operator *be* and with the form *has* (e.g. *Who's reading this book?*, *Who's read this book?*). However, they also said that, in pronunciation, the sequence *who's*, both referring to *is* and *has*, could be confused with the word *whose*, so that in order to avoid potential ambiguity either the full form or the NotC variant are preferred. In view of this information, interrogative clauses with *who* will be taken here to constitute a KO context for all operators analysed except *be* and the form *has*, although such a construction with this operator could also be considered a KO context by some speakers.

(b) Question tags (1,336 examples).

OpeC is not possible either in question tags, since there is no host for *not* to be attached to, as example (129d) below shows. The most frequent option for question tags is the NotC, as in those examples under (128) below, although I have found some occasional instances in the corpora which show the UncN variant (cf. examples (129a-c) below).

(128) a. *It's the done thing to carry food about in a hamper,* ***isn't*** *it?* (*LOB* A10 47-48)

b. *"It's a big snake,* ***isn't*** *it"?* (*BROWN* F26 1470-1480)

c. *'There's something about a DC-10,* ***isn't*** *there?', he observed to himself.* (*ACE* N01)

d. *Besides, he is always saying how mad you are - how tainted with your family's insanity you are - and if he could see you there, screaming aloud into the still night air... well, he would be proved right* ***wouldn't he****?* (*WWC* F07 049-052)

e. *It's got a very respectable pedigree* ***hasn't*** *it?* (*LLC* S6 3 37 4340 1 2 a 11)

f. *you're awake now,* ***aren't*** *you?* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6B/97)

(129) a. *It's made,* ***is it not****, from barley, malt extract and eggs.* (*FLOB* F03 84-85)

b. *"A tulip would demand more in the way of dash when it came to waistcoats,* ***would he not****?"* (*FROWN* P14 127-128)

c. *okay that's nice with the blue* ***is it not****.* (*WSC*#DGZ043:0450:SP)

d. *******okay that's nice with the blue '****s it not.***

As mentioned in Section II.3.2.2.1. above and following Quirk *et al*. (1985: 810), the normal word order in negative question tags consists of the NotC plus the subject, as in the examples under (128) above. When the negator is placed after the pronoun, as in (129), Quirk *et al*. claim that this is a feature of very formal English or of informal Northern BrE dialects. Notice, however, that I have recorded some examples of this kind in the spoken corpora (cf. example (129c) above from the *WSC*).

As in the case of yes-no questions above, I have identified some occasional tags with no subject-operator inversion, which, therefore, allow the

three variant forms of negation (cf. example (130) below), and have been included in the analysis.

(130) *It is highly unlikely, it **is not**, that Miss Fisher killed Mr. Asman.* (*FROWN* L09 44-46)

(c) Conditional clauses with subject-verb inversion (62 examples).

When the subject and the operator are inverted in conditional clauses, the clitic cannot be fixed to its host, and thus OpeC is not allowed (cf. the examples under (131) below).

(131) a. ***Had not** the seen received light from the unseen he would, he said, have been forced to feel the physical world as if it were a kind of darkness around him.* (*LOB* G32 64-66)

b. *Mr Smith repeated his pledge to increase retirement pensions by pounds for a single pensioner and pounds for a married couple, and also his promise to increase child benefit to the level it would have been **had the Tories not** restrained it – pounds 9.55 per week.* (*FLOB* A28 98-101)

c. ***Had they not** gotten me to the hospital when they did, perhaps I would not be here to commend them at this time.* (*BROWN* B15 1330-1350)

d. *Mansell returned to Australia in 1930 and while executing the occasional interior commission, such as some native flora decorations for the Wintergarden Theatre (circa 1939) at Brisbane, he would have probably remained a rather obscure personality, **had it not** been for his discovery of the power of Aboriginal art.* (*ACE* G49a)

e. *The catch, **had it not** been caught, would have undergone a further half year's growth and natural mortality by the end of the year.* (*WWC* J09 139-142)

f. *I believe that today,* ***had we not*** *taken this action, we would have had an enormous Haitian migrant problem that would have cost us dearly.* (*CSPAE* WH 95)

g. *It would have been the same* ***had he not*** *been there.* (*LLC* S6 3 18 2140 1 2 b 11)

h. **The catch,* ***'d it not*** *been caught, would have undergone a further half year's growth and natural mortality by the end of the year.*

Scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1382f) or Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 801) mention that NotCs are not possible either with inverted conditionals (cf. Section II.3.2.2.1. above). However, in my corpus I have recorded four examples with NotC, one of them being (132).

(132) *Can you believe the sheriff would've turned them loose* ***hadn't I*** *made such a fuss!"* (*FROWN* N04 19-21)

(d) Elided subject in coordination (426 examples).

OpeC is not possible either in the second clause of a compound sentence in which the subject is elided under identity with that of the first clause (cf. example (133j) below), due to the distance between the clitic and its host. The clauses in question may be linked by coordination by means of different coordinating conjunctions, such as *and* or *but*, as in (133a-e) below, or simply juxtaposed, as in (133f-i) below.[62]

[62] Quirk *et al*. (1985: 918) refer to clauses of this type as 'asyndetic coordination'.

(133) a. *The fact that Scarburgh succeeded Harvey as Lumleian Lecturer in 1656 and refers to these tables as 'unique' makes it unlikely that Harvey had used anything of the kind; otherwise his friend Scarburgh would surely have seen them and* ***would not*** *then have regarded Evelyn's as unique.* (*LOB* G02 16-20)

b. *They were now looking for ways to exploit it, but* ***had not*** *considered the timber as a possible long-term resource.* (*FLOB* E27 109-111)

c. *The precautions are ancillary to the testing procedures and* ***are not*** *intended to be all inclusive.* (*FROWN* J77 25-26)

d. *the r n z s p c a says a british ban on importing fighting dogs is not needed here and* ***wouldn't*** *stop locals wanting to hold dog fights.* (*WSC*#MSN090:0160:HH)

e. *And that work would continue back home again too, and I would hope that we could get it to the people who aren't here today and* ***won't*** *be here this afternoon, the principles, as quickly as possible so that they can be making some selections of items.* (*CSPAE* Math Com 6/97)

f. *These conditions are unobtainable-* ***are not*** *even approachable in the qualified sense I have indicated- without the prior defeat of world Communism.* (*BROWN* F23 0160-0180)

g. *Our hearts were made for Him and they will not rest,* ***will not*** *find fulfilment, until they learn to love Him in return for His love of us.* (*ACE* D13c)

h. *As the working conditions of the doctors improve, the doctors will be under less pressure,* ***will not*** *be over-worked or otherwise incapacitated and will provide better care, make fewer mistakes and possibly save more lives.* (*WWC* G68 090-093)

i. **the r n z s p c a says a british ban on importing fighting dogs is not needed here and* ***'d not*** *stop locals wanting to hold dog fights*

(e) Declarative clauses without an overt subject (129 examples).

Declarative clauses without an overt grammatical subject do not allow OpeC, since no host is present to which the clitic may be attached (see examples under (134) below).

(134) a. ***Wouldn't*** *mind a stengah myself.* (*LOB* K02 70)

b. *Crystal's last album,* ***'Ain't*** *Gonna Worry', marked her return to the Allen Reynolds camp and she has had the good sense to also make her stage act more simple and pure.* (*FLOB* E11 67-69)

c. ***WOULDN'T*** *PAY DOCTORS The plan does not cover doctor bills.* (*BROWN* A03 1260-1270)

d. *"But radio was all we had for entertainment at that time, and those songs of his stayed in the dust of my memories – songs like* ***'Ain't*** *Nobody Here But Us Chickens' and 'Saturday Night Fish Fry' and 'What's the Use of Getting Sober When You're Going to Get Drunk Again?.'* (*FROWN* E36 163-167)

e. ***Ain't*** *no-one more hide-bound than a high yaller.* (*ACE* L08)

f. *The other song,* ***Wouldn't*** *Cry, deserves mention purely for the brief snatches of pedal steel guitar in the introduction and chorus.* (*WWC* C07 018-020)

g. *well i i it's i have yet to see the the evidence of the economic recovery because because i know in business* ***are not*** *enjoying the recovery at.* (*WSC*#DGB068:0950:Z3)

h. *where what's where where does he come from* ***wouldn't*** *know.* (*LLC* S1 6 53 5100 1 2 B 13)

i. *On the other hand, if* ***wouldn't*** *help to rev up delivery, instructio, and help if you didn't have some kind of measure to find out if kids indeed were getting where you wanted them to be.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6B/97)

j. **On the other hand, if **'d not** help to rev up delivery, instructio, and help if you didn't have some kind of measure to find out if kids indeed were getting where you wanted them to be*

All the KO contexts mentioned so far have in common that the operator occurs in clause-initial position (either absolute initial position or after a conjunction). In such cases, as mentioned in Section II.3.2.2.1. above, OpeC is not possible, in contrast with those instances in which the operator occurs in clause-medial (see examples (135a) to (135e) below) or clause-final position (see examples (135f) to (135i) below), where the three kinds of negation are, in principle, allowed.

(135) a. *We **are not** here for our pleasure; the situation of your country renders it necessary.* (*LOB* C08 116-118)

b. *THIS is Adrian Noble's first production since he took over the RSC's orb and sceptre, and it is one which suggests that, whatever the company may lack during his reign, it **will not** be intelligence, subtlety or feeling for language.* (*FLOB* C05 4-7)

c. *I **have not** seen this charge made during my stay here, but apparently it is still in the air.* (*BROWN* D03 1270-1290)

d. *They are obligated to preserve the church's history, but they **haven't** even tried.* (*FROWN* A25 97-98)

e. *or have you read – you**'ve not** read many nineteenth century novels or present twentieth century novels D H Lawrence say.* (*LLC* 5b 6711780 1 3)

f. *These days, the probability is high that you **wouldn't**.* (*ACE* B20b)

g. *Some of these are demonstrably able while others **are not**.* (*WWC* B23 224-225)

h. *But if you don't penalize David for making the wrong choices, David and Connie look like the same readers, when really they**'re not**.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6A/97)

i. *no there **isn't.*** (*WSC*#DPP002:0105:JM)

(f) Subject ending in *-s* + third person singular of *be*/*have* (754 examples).

OpeC is not allowed for the third person singular present of the operators *be* and *have* when the subject ends in *-s* due to obvious reasons of euphony (cf. examples under (136) below).

(136) a. ***Bloodlessness isn't** so easy to detect as you might imagine.* (*LOB* F33 141)

b. *This last point presupposes that there has been a series of pure and perfect revelations from God, but **this is not** borne out by what we now know of the history of religion.* (*FLOB* D04 176-179)

c. ***Its synthesis has not** been demonstrated in cell-free systems, nor has its synthesis by systems with intact thyroid cells in vitro been unequivocally proven.* (*BROWN* J14 0340-0360)

d. ***the hermeneutic process is not** restricted to the reader's relationship to the text, but includes as well the interpretive practices of the parties to the originating dialogue.* (*FROWN* D15 105-107)

e. ***This isn't** very satisfactory, for it's so hard to find the basis of the categories.* (*ACE* J35)

f. ***A hedge of cluster-flowered bush roses is not** difficult to maintain.* (*WWC* E38 042-043)

g. ***this isn't** what he wanted.* (*LLC* S7 1e 2416960 1 1 B 11 5)

h. *And to my knowledge, **Mr. Woods hasn't** expressed any interest in coming down.* (*CSPAE* WH97B)

i. *if you dealt with er the OWNERSHIP so i put ownership OUT on one side to the chagrin of some er policy advisers and said do we want to PASS this statute the purpose of statutes is to PASS them and if you want to argue about property rights go ahead but* ***this is not*** *a theoretical exercise this is a law reform exercise.* (*WSC*#MUL017:0295:GP)

(g) Presence of intervening elements between the subject and the operator (579 examples).

OpeC is not possible either when the subject and the operator are separated by intervening material, either phrasal (see examples (137a) to (137f) below), or clausal elements (see examples (137d) to (137i) below).

(137) a. ***It just won't*** *be easy.* (*BROWN* M04 0290)

b. *But even if Carville tells this cautionary tale to Clinton and to the swarms of eager beavers now bearing down on Washington* ***it probably will not*** *do a lick of good.* (*FROWN* B20 20-22)

c. *And consequently, what kind of passages you will or won't have, given that* ***you probably aren't*** *going to get a whole lot of different passages.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6A/97)

d. *A number of submittors raised issues which were extraneous to the Commission's terms of reference as so interpreted: in public advertisements (see Appendix I) it was stated;* ***`It [the Commission] will not*** *be considering any policy, procedural or administrative changes to the scheme.'* (*ACE* H05)

e. *Sir, I hope* ***Mr Jamieson's reply to my letter (June 23) is not*** *representative of a police response to a complaint or a call for help.* (*WWC* B21 099-101)

f. *i saw it on the weekend* ***i sort of haven't*** *kept too much you know haven't really kept track of it this year <,,> yeah but i saw it on the weekend though.* (*WSC*#DPC323:0450:TJ)

g. *"**This street**," **the agents would say**, "**hasn't** quite come."* (*LOB* R03 45-46)

h. ***"The problem now", says Professor Taylor**, "**is not** mortality but morbidity."* (*FLOB* H25 23-24)

i. *it reminds me of what Orwell always said that* ***the idea of the English gentleman although it may be in some some respects ludicrous or contemptible is not*** *in itse is not really contemptible.* (*LLC* S5 10 78 9120 1 2 b 11)

As the examples given as illustration in the preceding pages show, the KO contexts discussed so far apply to both the written and the spoken corpora. However, I have detected some other blocking contexts for OpeC which are restricted to the spoken corpora. As shall be seen, these are mainly related to questions of emphasis (cf. examples (138)) and to the existence of pauses done by speakers (cf. examples (139). As shall be seen in Section 3.2.2. below, these two contexts will also prove relevant to NotC.

(h) Emphasis on the operator and the negator (145 examples).

OpeC is not admitted in those cases in which the speaker emphasises both the operator and the negator, as in examples (138a-c) below. [63]

[63] In *WSC*, emphasis is marked by capital letters, while in *LLC* it is marked by either a single apostrophe (') or a double apostrophe (").

(138) a. *well i said well yes it it it IS and it **ISN'T** it IS and it **ISN'T** you see.* (*WSC*#DPH001:0500:SS)

b. *it **"wouldn't** be farmhouse kitchen of.* (*LLC* S10 11b 8000 1 2 a 11 2)

c. *I **'have 'not** the slightest doubt.* (*LLC* S12 4a 33 5810 1 1 a 11 1)

(i) Pauses (132 examples).[64]

Pauses in conversations may also condition the use of one or the other contracted forms. For instance, if the pause is done just after the subject and preceding the operator, then OpeC is not possible (see examples under (139) below).

(139) a. *for most of you that's important but it also means that you cannot afford not to do your assignments as some of you **<,> haven't** done.* (*WSC*#MUS003:0290:TT)

b. *if you **. hadn't** known the script but knowing the script was exasperating.* (*LLC* S1 6 12011000 1 1 B 11)

c. *Just briefly, this full recognition on the part of the Clinton administration -- the issues of money laundering, drugs, corruption **-- are not** at all unique to one particular country or one particular region; that these are general problems throughout the hemisphere.* (*CSPAE* WH95)

d. *so two of the three elements that the accused is a male and that the complainant is er a boy aged between twelve and sixteen **er will not** detain you i suggest for very long.* (*WSC*#MUJ010:0445:MJ)

[64] Pauses are sometimes marked by codes, such as <,>, a full stop (.) or a double hyphen (--), as in examples (139a), (139b) and (139c), respectively, or by exclamations, such as *er* (cf. example (139d). On other occasions, pauses may be indicated by both a code and an exclamation, such as *tut*, as in example (143a) (cf. also Section 3.2.2 below).

3.2.2. Knockout Contexts for NotC

Besides the blockings discussed for OpeC in the previous section, a number of contexts also condition the use of NotCs. The different KO contexts for the occurrence of a NotC form will be analysed in the following paragraphs.

(a) Split Verb Phrases (22 examples).

NotC is not possible in cases of split VPs, since the operator is separated from the negator by intervening element(s), such as a pronoun or NP subject in *wh*-questions (see examples under (140) below).

(140) a. *'Why **are you not** killed?'* (*LOB* M06 50-51)

b. *Indeed, how could he know that he was under the stairs if it was so dark; and if he knew by some means other than sight, why **are we not** informed about it?* (*FLOB* J60 46-48)

c. *Why **is King not** asking these types of questions?* (*WWC* G37 192)

d. *well there is some there is redress in there but your original question is you know what's the purpose of that and why how is it er you know why **is it not** enforceable.* (*WSC*#DGI071:0300:EL)

e. *over what period of time **are they not** doing very well.* (*LLC* S9 4 820 1 2 b 11)

Likewise, NotC is inhibited in declarative clauses in which the subject is moved to postverbal position (see examples (141a-b) below).

(141) a. *George Orwell in 1937: "Whichever way you turn, this curse of class differences confronts you like a wall of stone. Or rather **is it not** so much like a wall of stone as the plate glass pane of an aquarium." This American was for some months near the end of World War II in close contact with 'other ranks' in the British army.* (*FROWN* G26 97-102)

b. *Somewhere we have to say that this test is not diagnostic and that if you want to deal with the issue of diagnosis, you do have to go*

> *to the school records, because if we got to the point where we were promising that kind of thing, not only* ***would we not*** *be able to deliver it, we would also be making an -- statement about teachers and schools that we don't want to make.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6B/97)

In examples (141a) and (141b) subject-operator inversion is caused by the presence in sentence-initial position of the adverb *rather* and of the expression *not only*, respectively (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 611 and Romaine 1998: 52). Scholars such as Fowler (1978: 296ff) claim that the inversion with *rather* is a kind of "**link inversion,**" which he defines in the following way: "Often, however, the object is not to transfer the predicate bodly to the beginning, but to give some word or words of it first place. This may be meant to give hearer or reader the connexion with what precedes (Link Inversion) [...]" (Fowler 1978: 296). Fowler criticises inversions of this kind by saying that the link is stressed to give formality to the text and concludes that "it is not a matter for argument, but for taste" (1978: 300).

(b) Emphasis (251 examples).

NotC is not possible in those cases in which the speaker puts emphasis on the combination subject + operator, as in example (142a) below, on the sequence subject + operator + *not*, as in (142b), or when emphasis is placed on the negator alone, as in (142c-d) below.

(142) a. *you CAN'T the* ***SMELL'S not*** *there the NOISE is not there you CAN'T hear the rattle of the machine gun or the or the odd crack of the rifle or the smell of high explosive or anything like that.* (*WSC*#DPH001:0505:SS)

b. *The estate **'agent's 'not** holding us up.* (*LLC* S8 1a 11 1180 1 1 A 11 1)

c. *two reasons for that firstly er problems with security banks **would NOT** lend er on maori land titles they were inadequate security that's still a problem.* (*WSC*#MUL006:0155:RB)

d. *they **will "not** get you funds.* (*LLC* S11 2 51 6550 1 1 a 11)

(c) Pauses (129 examples).

As mentioned in Section III.3.2.1 above, pauses in conversations condition the use of contracted forms. Thus, if a pause is done between the operator and the negator, as in the examples under (143) below, NotC cannot be used.

(143) a. *no um <O>tut</O> <O>clears throat</O> that was another thing we thought that cos we'**re <,> <O>tut</O> not** that well off i thought we thought how on earth we we didn't have a television um.* (*WSC*#DPF002:0320:BP)

b. *in a building where there**'s . not** even the right sort of room.* (*LLC* S3 4 18 1410 1 2 B 11)

c. *We **are -- not** much at this point, Wolf.* (*CSPAE* WH 97B)

3.2.3. Other Knockout Contexts

This section is devoted to a number of examples (five in all) not included in any of the preceding groups and which do not allow the interchangeability of the three variants under analysis either. These are given as (144) to (148) below.

(144) (*In other words, we revise the antecedent from **'hadn't'** to 'didn't'.)* (*FLOB* J54 111-112)

(145) *They adopted "...an institutionalised system of trilateral cooperation enacted legislatively. They agreed to a collective contract, a so-called zero contract, which is (was) in force until the end of 1983*

and which says (said) that until then the trade unions ***will (would) not*** *demand any wage rises, provided wages are automatically adjusted to the growth of prices.* (*ACE* G51)

(146) *"****Ain't*** *no sense* ***you eating our dust,****" Rod protested.* (*BROWN* N13 1580-1590)

(147) *This is the key to the conquest of fear. This gets down to the heart of our problem, for it reconciles us with God, whom we fear most of all because we have sinned against Him. When that fear has been removed by faith in Jesus Christ, when we know that He is our Savior, that He has paid our debt with His blood, that He has met the demands of God's justice and thus has turned His wrath away- when we know that, we have peace with God in our hearts; and then, with this God on our side, we can face the whole world without fear. And so the psalmist gives us one more picture of God: "The Lord is the strength of my life." The word is really "stronghold." It recalls those words of another psalm: "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore* ***will not we*** *fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the earth.* (*BROWN* D07 1515-1660)

(148) *The Church is certainly hierarchical but* ***at the top of the local hierarchy is not the Pope*** *but the local bishop.* (*ACE* G76)

In (144) above, the UncN and OpeC variants are not possible, since *hadn't* does not function as a common operator. It is only to be contrasted with *didn't*. In example (145), in turn, contractions are not possible, since two operators, *will* and *would*, go with the same negator.

As far as example (146) is concerned, OpeC is not allowed, because the subject (*you eating our dust*) is placed in clause-final position. Subject-verb inversion here can be due to the end-weight principle, whereby heavy elements tend to be moved towards the end of the clause. As a consequence, there is no host to which the operator can be attached.

Examples (147) and (148) also illustrate subject-verb inversion, and, thus, OpeC is not possible either. Inversion is due to the presence of the adverb *therefore* in clause-initial position in example (147) and to the fronting of the prepositional phrase *at the top of local hierarchy* in (148). In the early stages of the English language, the finite verb was usually placed in second position in non-dependent clauses, after any clause-initial constituent (subjects, adverbials, and so on and so forth). Thus, inversion occurred after adverbs such as *therefore* (Traugott 1992: 275). Little by little, however, verb-second was lost after some adverbial elements. This is what happened with *therefore*, which does not cause inversion nowadays. However, example (147) above still retains subject-operator inversion probably because of the conservative nature of the text: it is an extract from a religious text which provides the words of a psalm.

These two examples, (147) and (148) are, in fact, similar to example (141a) above showing *rather* in clause-initial position, since all of them present subject-verb inversion due to the fronting of a clausal element. However, they differ as regards the position of the negator: while in (141a) *not* is placed after the

subject, and thus, NotC is not allowed, in examples (147) and (148) the subject follows the operator and the negator, so that OpeC is not possible.

The distribution of the KO contexts described in the preceding paragraphs in the different corpora analysed is given in Table 15 below.

Table 15. Distribution of KO contexts in the different corpora

		LOB	*FLOB*	*BROWN*	*FROWN*	*ACE*	*WWC*	*LLC*	*CSPAE*	*WSC*	TOTAL
OPEC	**Yes-No questions and *wh*-questions**	67	34	54	50	35	61	71	159	184	715 (15.26%)
	Question tags	45	40	33	35	27	40	355	31	730	1,336 (28.52%)
	Conditional inversion	15	8	9	11	2	9	3	5	-	62 (1.32%)
	Elided subject in coordination	51	25	48	38	33	41	50	51	89	426 (9.09%)
	Declarative clauses without a subject	6	5	4	7	3	11	20	9	64	129 (2.75%)
	Subject ending in *–s* + 3rd p. sg. *be/have*	92	120	90	81	51	84	47	155	34	754 (16.09%)
	Intervening elements	19	40	67	63	52	51	57	108	122	579 (12.36%)
	Emphasis	-	-	-	-	-	-	130	-	15	145 (3.09%)
	Pauses	-	-	-	-	-	-	74	1	57	132 (2.82%)
NOTC	**Split VPs**	2	1	-	2	-	3	2	9	3	22 (0.47%)
	Emphasis	-	-	-	-	-	-	197	-	54	251 (5.37%)
	Pauses	-	-	-	-	-	-	59	1	69	129 (2.75%)
	Other	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	5 (0.11%)
	TOTAL	**297**	**274**	**307**	**287**	**205**	**300**	**1065**	**529**	**1,421**	**4,685**

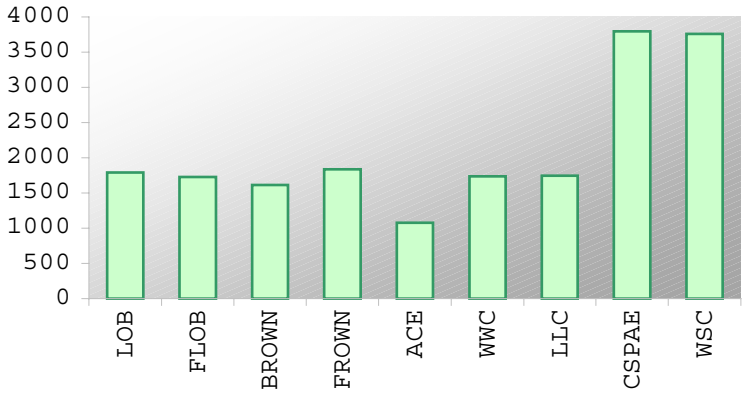
3.3. UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs as True Variants

With the exception of the contexts mentioned in the preceding section, the selection between UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs in the different corpora can be described as non-compulsory in nature, i.e. UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs are true variants. However, different factors of various kinds seem to favour the selection of one of these forms at the expense of the others. The analysis that follows focuses on the influence of some of these determinants of variation, namely (a) medium, (b) dialect, (c) text-type, (d) type of operator and (e) type of subject. Other potential factors, such as gender, age, social stratification, pragmatic features and so on and so forth (Cf. section II.3.1. and II.3.2.) are not taken into consideration, given the lack of the relevant data in the nine corpora selected for this piece of research. The distribution in the different corpora of the 19,067 examples in which UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs are interchangeable is given in Table 16 and Figure 12 below.

Table 16. Number of examples in each corpora (KO contexts excluded)

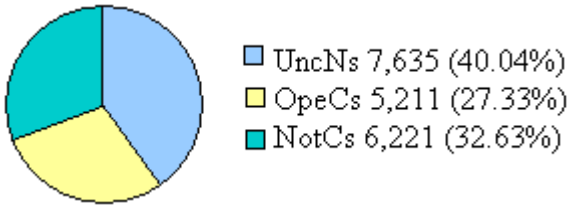
	TOTAL
LOB	1,790 (9.39%)
FLOB	1,728 (9.07%)
BROWN	1,614 (8.46%)
FROWN	1,837 (9.63%)
ACE	1,076 (5.64%)
WWC	1,733 (9.09%)
LLC	1,742 (9.14%)
CSPAE	3,792 (19.89%)
WSC	3,755 (19.69%)
TOTAL	**19,067**

Figure 12. Negative forms in the corpus (KO contexts excluded)



The distribution of these 19,067 occurrences according to the three negative forms under study is shown in Figure 13 below.

Figure 13. UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs as true variants in the corpus



As can be seen, contractions clearly predominate over uncontracted forms and, as far as contracted types are concerned, there is a slight preponderance of NotCs over OpeCs. Table 17 below shows the behaviour of the four operators analysed as regards the selection of the three negative variants.

Table 17. Total number of examples (KO contexts excluded) according to the type of operator (raw figures and normalised frequencies per 10,000 words in brackets)[65]

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
LOB	726 (7.26)	107 (1.07)	66 (0.66)	291 (2.91)	8 (0.08)	139 (1.39)	100 (1)	5 (0.05)	96 (0.96)	154 (1.54)	3 (0.03)	95 (0.95)	**1,790**
FLOB	615 (6.15)	194 (1.94)	109 (1.09)	201 (2.01)	8 (0.08)	171 (1.71)	114 (1.14)	6 (0.06)	88 (0.88)	116 (1.16)	-	106 (1.06)	**1,728**
BROWN	608 (6.08)	89 (0.89)	113 (1.13)	206 (2.06)	2 (0.02)	142 (1.42)	95 (0.95)	2 (0.02)	92 (0.92)	145 (1.45)	2 (0.02)	118 (1.18)	**1,614**
FROWN	604 (6.04)	254 (2.54)	178 (1.78)	158 (1.58)	2 (0.02)	192 (1.92)	87 (0.87)	2 (0.02)	136 (1.36)	99 (0.99)	1 (0.01)	124 (1.24)	**1,837**
ACE	425 (4.59)	102 (1.1)	69 (0.74)	150 (1.62)	2 (0.02)	61 (0.66)	64 (0.69)	1 (0.01)	64 (0.69)	80 (0.86)	1 (0.01)	57 (0.61)	**1,076**
WWC	632 (6.32)	217 (2.17)	91 (0.91)	213 (2.13)	5 (0.05)	151 (1.51)	107 (1.07)	3 (0.03)	93 (0.93)	110 (1.1)	2 (0.02)	109 (1.09)	**1,733**
LLC	105 (2.1)	652 (13.04)	191 (3.82)	21 (0.42)	32 (0.64)	413 (8.26)	8 (0.16)	4 (0.08)	103 (2.06)	15 (0.3)	1 (0.02)	197 (3.94)	**1,742**
CSPAE	635 (6.37)	1,654 (16.59)	189 (1.89)	278 (2.78)	11 (0.11)	373 (3.74)	125 (1.25)	-	168 (1.68)	138 (1.38)	2 (0.02)	219 (2.19)	**3,792**
WSC	157 (1.57)	1,823 (18.23)	166 (1.66)	22 (0.22)	13 (0.13)	745 (7.45)	13 (0.13)	-	343 (3.43)	18 (0.18)	1 (0.01)	454 (4.54)	**3,755**
TOTAL	**4,507**	**5,092**	**1,172**	**1,540**	**83**	**2,387**	**713**	**23**	**1,183**	**875**	**13**	**1,479**	**19,067**

[65] Normalised frequencies are provided here, given the different size of the corpora included in the analysis. These normalised frequencies are computed as follows: divide the actual frequency count by the total number of words in each text, then multiply by 10,000 (see Biber 1988: 14, fn3: 75ff). From now onwards, the figures in brackets correspond to the normalised frequencies per 10,000 words.

A number of preliminary conclusions can be drawn from the data in this table:

(a) As regards the global figures, the general predominance of negative contractions over uncontracted forms mentioned above is verified when dealing with individual operators.

(b) As regards the type of operator and individual corpora, uncontracted forms are the preferred option with the *be*-operator in all the written corpora, while the balance is reversed in favour of contractions in the spoken corpora. A similar tendency is found for the other operators. Thus, with the *have*-operator UncNs also predominate over contractions in the written corpora with the exception of *FROWN*. In the case of *will*, UncN is the preferred option in *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *WWC*, while with *would* the predominance of UncNs is confirmed in *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *ACE*.

(c) As far as contractions are concerned, NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators excluding *be* in all corpora. The only exception to the strong connection of *be* with OpeCs is found in *BROWN*, in which NotCs are also preferred to OpeCs. Thus, the tendencies described in the literature in this connection (cf. Section II.3.2) seem to be confirmed in my corpus.

Another factor considered in this study as a potential determinant of the variation between contractions and UncNs is the type of subject. For my purposes, I have classified subjects into five different categories: pronoun, NP, existential *there* (cf. example (149a) below), clause (see example (149b) below) and other, as the adverb *now* in example (149c) below.

(149) a. ***there's not*** *many of us left.* (*WSC*#DGB005:0545:HS)

b. *One of them says: "**What we are doing is not** right.* (*WWC* D16 118)

c. *We need to talk, but **now is not** the time.* (*FLOB* P14 74)

In the case of pronouns and NPs, I have distinguished between simple (cf. examples (150a) and (151a) below) and complex forms. The latter type includes cases where the pronoun or the NP are postmodified by a restrictive relative clause, as in examples (150b) and (151b) below.

(150) a. *The trade in question is important to the Commonwealth countries concerned but **it is not** large in total in comparison with European trade.* (*LOB* H21 129-131)

b. *"**Anyone who doesn't make it through this soon, isn't** going to make it at all."* (*FLOB* M01 181-183)

(151) a. ***Curricula have not** been highly differentiated by gender in the past, but until very recently feminists latched on to every form of differentiation as evidence of unfair discrimination against girls.* (*ACE* F15b)

b. *He was thinking that **the way she had responded to his own kiss hadn't** meant what he had believed it had.* (*BROWN* N03 0310-0330)

Moreover, there are some examples which show compound NPs as subjects. These are formed by either a NP plus a pronoun or by a simple plus a complex NP linked by coordination (see examples (152) and (153) respectively).

(152) *"I am afraid that **Silliphant and I are not** on civil terms.* (*FLOB* N18 116)

(153) ***Beauty contexts and other activities which treat women students as sex objects have not** disappeared from Southern college scene.* (*FROWN* G28 224-225)

The distribution of my 19,067 examples according to the type of subject is shown in Table 18 below. As can be observed, the most frequent type of subject is that of a simple pronoun. Contracted forms predominate over their uncontracted counterparts only with simple pronominal subjects and with existential-*there* subjects, while the proportion of UncNs clearly increases with more complex subject-types. Consider in this respect the high proportion of UncNs with complex pronouns, complex and compound NPs and, specially, clausal subjects.

Table 18. Distribution of tokens according to type of subject

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	
Pronoun **Simple**	2,014	4,839	558	844	79	2,090	363	23	942	488	12	1,266	13,518
Pronoun **Complex**	10	-	2	4	-	2	6	-	-	2	-	-	26
NP **Simple**	2,055	104	410	604	1	251	272	-	196	321	-	173	4,387
NP **Complex**	173	-	15	50	-	9	48	-	9	30	-	12	342
NP **Compound**	11	-	2	7	-	2	1	-	-	2	-	-	25
Existential *there*	89	148	155	20	3	29	10	-	25	15	1	24	519
Clause	152	1	29	11	-	4	13	-	11	17	-	4	242
Other	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Total	**4,507**	**5,092**	**1,172**	**1,540**	**83**	**2,387**	**713**	**23**	**1,183**	**875**	**13**	**1,479**	**19,067**

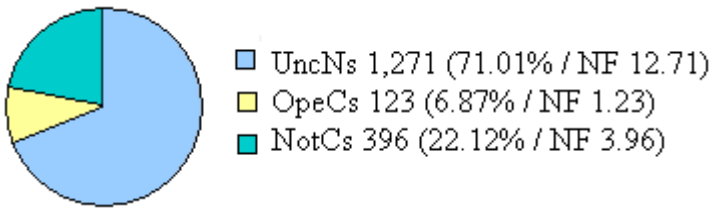
3.4. Analysis of the Written Corpora

As mentioned in Section II.3.1. above, the choice between uncontracted and contracted negative forms in PDE is determined by a wide variety of factors, among them type of text, dialect, date of compilation of the texts, type of operator or type of subject. The sections which follow will, therefore, be concerned with the individual analysis of the *LOB* (Section 2.4.1. below), *FLOB* (Section 2.4.2.), *BROWN* (Section 2.4.3.), *FROWN* (Section 2.4.4.), *ACE* (Section 2.4.5.) and *WWC* (Section 2.4.6.), taking into account the potential influence of the aforementioned factors.

3.4.1. The *Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (*LOB*)

As already seen in Section 3.3. above, the *LOB* corpus contains 1,790 examples of the three variants issue, which represent 9.38 % of the total of the negative forms analysed in this piece of research. These 1,790 examples are distributed as shown in Figure 14 below.

Figure 14. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *LOB*



Such a distribution proves that, as expected, in written BrE from the 1960s, UncNs are preferred to a greater extent than contractions, and that NotCs are the predominant contracted type. Thus, for instance, a form like the one in example

(154a) below is much more common than those in (154b) and (154c), the latter being preferred among the contracted types.

(154) a. *And you **would not** like me to die, would you, from such a cause?* (*LOB* K19 39-40)

b. *You**'d not** be wanting to go away from your home if I had* (*LOB* N28 186-187)

c. *It is marvellous seeing and hearing from famous people what you **wouldn't** know anything about if it wasn't for TV" says a 17-year-old student.* (*LOB* J26 119-122)

The distribution of the different negative forms found in the *LOB* corpus according to text-type is given in Table 19 below. As shown in this table, the number of contractions from category A to category K (both of them included), as well as in category R (Humour), is lower than that of UncNs. Particularly revealing in this respect is the high proportion of UncNs in Religion (Cat D), 18.82 per 10,000 words. In category H (Miscellaneous) there are no instances of contractions, and in a highly formal text-type such as category J (Learned and scientific writings) contracted forms are almost non-existent (only three occurrences out of 202 instances). In this category, as in category E (Skills, trades and hobbies), the only contractions found belong to the NotC type. By contrast, as expected, in most fictional categories there is an overall preference for contractions over UncNs, with the exception of General fiction (Cat K), where, as mentioned above, there is a predominance of UncNs over contracted forms, and Science fiction (Cat M), where UncNs and contractions (OpeCs and NotCs together) are evenly distributed. Similarly, in category R (Humour), I would expect a predominance of contractions over UncNs, since it is an informal

category. However, as seen above, UncNs are the most frequent negative forms in this text-type.

Table 19. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *LOB* according to text-type

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	123 (13.97)	6 (0.68)	21 (2.38)	150
CAT B	54,000	88 (16.29)	1 (0.18)	5 (0.92)	94
CAT C	34,000	45 (13.23)	1 (0.29)	7 (2.05)	53
CAT D	34,000	64 (18.82)	6 (1.76)	8 (2.35)	78
CAT E	76,000	90 (11.84)	-	12 (1.57)	102
CAT F	88,000	114 (12.95)	3 (0.34)	26 (2.95)	143
CAT G	154,000	251 (16.29)	2 (0.12)	8 (0.51)	261
CAT H	60,000	90 (15)	-	-	90
CAT J	160,000	199 (12.43)	-	3 (0.18)	202
CAT K	58,000	72 (12.41)	10 (1.72)	58 (1)	140
CAT L	48,000	27 (5.62)	21 (4.37)	69 (14.37)	117
CAT M	12,000	11 (9.16)	3 (2.5)	8 (6.67)	22
CAT N	58,000	30 (5.17)	34 (5.86)	64 (11.03)	128
CAT P	58,000	45 (7.75)	32 (5.51)	100 (17.24)	177
CAT R	18,000	22 (12.22)	4 (2.22)	7 (3.88)	33
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,271 (12.71)	123 (1.23)	396 (3.96)	1,790

Once the general data from the *LOB* corpus have been examined, it is time to analyse individually the results obtained for the different operators. First of all, I shall concentrate my attention on the operator *be*, secondly on the operator *have*, thirdly on the operator *will* and, finally, on the operator *would*, all of them in relation to text-types.

Table 20 below provides clear evidence of how the operator *be* behaves in the *LOB* corpus in different types of texts. As can be seen, this operator shows an overall preference for UncNs (726 vs. 174 contracted forms).

Table 20. Distribution of occurrences with the *be*-operator in *LOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	62 (7.04)	5 (0.56)	1 (0.11)	68
CAT B	54,000	60 (11.11)	1 (0.18)	-	61
CAT C	34,000	30 (8.82)	1 (0.29)	2 (0.58)	33
CAT D	34,000	47 (13.82)	6 (1.76)	2 (0.58)	55
CAT E	76,000	58 (7.63)	-	2 (0.26)	60
CAT F	88,000	75 (8.52)	3 (0.34)	3 (0.34)	81
CAT G	154,000	156 (10.12)	2 (0.12)	2 (0.12)	160
CAT H	60,000	50 (8.33)	-	-	50
CAT J	160,000	140 (8.75)	-	-	140
CAT K	58,000	15 (2.58)	10 (1.72)	13 (2.24)	38
CAT L	48,000	2 (0.41)	16 (3.33)	5 (1.04)	23
CAT M	12,000	3 (2.5)	3 (2.5)	3 (2.5)	9
CAT N	58,000	5 (0.86)	27 (4.65)	13 (2.24)	45
CAT P	58,000	10 (1.72)	30 (5.17)	18 (3.1)	58
CAT R	18,000	13 (7.22)	4 (2.22)	2 (1.11)	19
TOTAL	1,000,000	726 (7.26)	108 (1.08)	66 (0.66)	900

However, this statement does not hold true for all text-types. Thus, from category K to category P, contractions are more frequent than UncNs, since these categories, together with Cat R (Humour), are representative of informal style (cf. Figure 9 above). Nevertheless, the latter textual category behaves contrary to my expectations, with UncNs predominating over contractions. In the case of the more formal categories, that is, from A to J, UncNs outnumber contracted forms. Moreover, there is no evidence of contractions in Miscellaneous (Cat H) and

Learned and scientific writings (Cat J) due to the formality of the texts included in these two text-types. It is also noteworthy that the proportional difference between full forms and contractions is much higher in the formal categories than in the less formal registers. Thus, for instance, in Cat B the proportional difference between UncNs (NF 11.11) and contracted forms (NF 0.18) is more marked than in Cat P (contractions NF 8.27 and UncNs NF 1.72), 10.93 vs. 6.55 respectively.

Nevertheless, the most interesting feature of the operator *be* in the *LOB* corpus concerns its special behaviour as regards the choice between the two possible types of contractions. Thus, contrary to general data given in Table 19 above, *be* selects OpeCs (NF 1.07) more frequently than NotCs (0.66). This holds for all individual categories except Press review (Cat C), Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) and General fiction (Cat K), and categories F, G and M, which show an even distribution of OpeCs and NotCs. The predominance of OpeC over the NotC type is particularly noticeable in the case of the fictional categories L, N and P, where not only are OpeCs more numerous than NotCs, but also they are used more frequently than UncNs.

As mentioned in Section II.4.1. above, the forms of the operator *be* which allow the three variants of negation at issue are *am not*, *are not* and *is not*, which can be contracted into the OpeCs *'m not*, *'re not* and *'s not* or the NotC forms *ain't*, *aren't* and *isn't*. Let us consider now the behaviour of these individual forms in the *LOB* corpus. As can be seen in Table 21 below, the form *is not* (490 occurrences, which represents 54.44% of the total of the forms with this operator)

is not only the most frequent among the uncontracted negative forms, but it is also more frequent than contractions.

Table 21. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *LOB*

	Am not			*Are not*			*Is not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	7	2	-	16	1	-	39	2	1
CAT B	-	-	-	18	1	-	42	-	-
CAT C	-	-	-	5	-	1	25	1	1
CAT D	2	1	-	11	-	-	34	5	2
CAT E	1	-	-	18	-	-	39	-	2
CAT F	-	1	-	18	-	-	57	2	3
CAT G	8	-	-	44	1	-	104	1	2
CAT H	2	-	-	22	-	-	26	-	-
CAT J	2	-	-	42	-	-	96	-	-
CAT K	3	5	-	7	2	4	5	3	9
CAT L	-	5	-	-	2	1	2	9	4
CAT M	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	1	3
CAT N	1	9	-	2	8	2	2	10	11
CAT P	-	10	-	4	10	2	6	10	16
CAT R	1	1	-	2	2	-	10	1	2
TOTAL	**27**	**36**	**-**	**209**	**27**	**10**	**490**	**45**	**56**

Thus, in written BrE from the 1960s, the third person singular of the *be*-operator favours the use of UncNs, specially in the most formal categories. This is particularly evident in category G (Belle lettres, memoirs and biographies), where 104 occurrences of *is not* (97.2% out of the total in such category) have been recorded vs. only three instances of contractions (one example for OpeCs and two instances of NotCs) (2.8%). By contrast, in the informal categories, with the exception of category R, where UncNs predominate over contractions (ten

instances of UncNs vs. three cases of contracted forms), contractions with the third person singular of *be* are preferred. Such a predominance is specially obvious in Adventure and western fiction (Cat N), where I have found only two examples of UncNs vs. 21 occurrences of contractions (ten OpeCs and 11 NotCs).

In the case of the forms *are not*, *'re not* and *aren't*, the UncN variant is also the most common (209 UncNs vs. 37 contraction), specially in formal categories (from A to J). However, contractions are preferred in the informal text-types, with the exception of Cat K (General fiction), where the instances of UncNs are slightly more numerous than those of contractions (seven UncNs vs. six contractions) and in Humour (Cat R), where the number of full forms and contractions is alike.

By contrast, contractions are more frequent than full forms with the first person singular present indicative of *be* (27 occurrences of UncNs vs. 36 examples of contractions, all of them of the OpeC type), though this does not hold true in categories A, D, G, H and J, where the pattern of distribution is reversed. Thus, while the full forms *are not* and *is not* (cf. examples (155a) and (156a) below) are more frequent than their contracted counterparts (cf. examples (155b-c) and (156b-c) below), the first person singular of *be* prefers OpeCs (cf. example (157b) below) over UncNs (see example (157a) below).

(155) a. *And an inner conviction that these things really matte r- indeed are essential if we* ***are not*** *to slip back into becoming a second-rate economy with declining standards of living.* (*LOB* A21 221-223)

b. *There are all too many people who say: 'Well, we**'re not** going to bother to train anybody in our industry because they'll promptly get snapped up by another industry,' the Duke added.* (*LOB* A12 106-108)

c. *'We **aren't** authorised to award credits toward any degree, but we don't think this should stand in our way, and we hope it won't deter you from coming.* (*LOB* K26 139-142)

(156) a. *The houses are broken and there **is not** wood or nails to mend them, and now since these new laws, much of his saving money is also gone.* (*LOB* G10 62-64)

b. *'There**'s not** so much of it though,' she answered truthfully.* (*LOB* P 22 107)

c. *And if anyone should jump to the conclusion that this is another marriage on the rocks, let me hasten to correct them- there **isn't** a more happily married couple in the whole of show business.* (*LOB* E 11 5-8)

(157) a. *Luckily I **am not** introducing her by one of her more stupid remarks.* (*LOB* K16 61-62)

b. *Come now, madam, I**'m not** an emissary from the young lady's uncle, that fire-eating Sussex squire.* (*LOB* K19 175-176)

As regards the selection of specific contracted types with individual forms of the operator *be*, the predominance of OpeCs over NotCs mentioned above holds true only for the first person singular (36 examples of OpeCs vs. none of NotCs), and for *'re not/aren't* (27 OpeCs vs. ten NotCs), while the third person singular favours the use of NotCs over OpeCs (45 OpeCs vs. 58 NotCs). Obviously enough, the absence of NotCs for the first person singular of the operator *be* can be related to the lack of a standard contracted counterpart for this form in the paradigm (cf. Sections II.3.2. and II.4.1. above).

A few words seem in order concerning the four instances with *ain't* recorded in the *LOB* corpus (cf. examples (158) to (161) below), all of them belonging to Adventure and Western fiction (Cat N).

(158) *What **ain't** forted up here was sent into Lordsburg.* (*LOB* N20 72-73)

(159) *"We've got five rifles among us and a few six-shooters. But most of us **ain't** eddicated in shootin. It'd be a massacree, yessir."* (*LOB* N06 189-192)

(160) *A different voice, younger and nervous, began: "What if the ticket bloke remembers us? Ow do you know 'e **ain't** ringing the rozzers right now? We'll likely be met by..." "Oh, stop your whinin" interrupted the gruff voice.* (*LOB* N18 59-62)

(161) *A gruff voice rose from the next compartment. "No, there **ain't** nobody in this carriage.* (*LOB* N18 50-51)

As seen in Table 1 (Section II.1.) and Section II.4.1. above, *ain't* may correspond to the different forms of the present tense of *be*, or of the present tense of *have* and, in some varieties of English, also to the forms of *do* (*don't*, *doesn't* and *didn't*).[66] In the case of examples (158) to (161) above, the form *ain't* stands for *aren't* in (159) and for *isn't* in (158), (160) and (161). All these examples have in common that they probably represent substandard English. Other features typical of non-standard English also occur in these examples, such as the use in example (159) of the word *eddicated* for *educated*, the occurrence of *massacree*, which is considered an illiterate form of *massacre* (cf. *OED* s.v. *massacre* n.[1]), or of *yessir*, which is an informal pronunciation of *yes*, *sir* (cf. *OED* s.v. *yessir*).

[66] In my corpus, all examples with *ain't* (103 examples: four in *LOB*, nine in *FLOB*, 34 in *BROWN*, 44 in *FROWN*, three in *ACE*, three in *WWC*, one in *LLC*, one in *CSPAE* and four in *WSC*) are used for either *be* or *have*.

In example (160), in turn, where *ain't* is the NotC for the third person singular of the present of the verb *be*, the subject is an abbreviated form of the third person singular masculine pronoun *he* (cf. *OED* s.v. *e*{*he*}), namely *'e*. This form may be the written representation of the pronunciation of such pronoun. Example (160) thus provides clear evidence that the highly informal category Adventure and western fiction (Cat N) is undoubtedly related to the spoken language.

In example (161), *ain't* is also equivalent to *is not*. In this instance, the NotC form is followed by another negative item (*nobody*), thus constituting a case of double or multiple negation. As seen in Section II.2. above, multiple negation was originally used in English as a way of reinforcing the negation. In other words, the more negative particles there were, the more emphatic the negation was. In the eighteenth century, multiple negation was condemned by prescriptive grammarians, at least in SE, since they claimed that two negatives made the clause positive (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 799 or Mazzon 2004: 2, among many others). However, in non-standard English, double or multiple negation is well accepted (cf., for example Burchfield 1994: 12, Palacios Martínez 1998: 70, 2003: 479, Anderwald 2002: 101ff or Mazzon 2004: 124), as example (161) above shows. Similar examples with a double negation pattern have been attested in the other corpora used in the present study (18 examples in all). These are the following:

(162) *What's there to protest about, there* ***ain't no*** *war or anything?* (*FLOB* R07 133-134)

(163) *"Boy, you **ain't** fooling **nobody** but yourself."* (*BROWN* G70 0260-0270)

(164) *"I **ain't** taking **no** goddamned chances for **no** Jew business."* (*BROWN* K17 1750-1760)

(165) *He's got him in the kitchen." "Pedersen"? "No, Pa. It's the Pedersen kid. The kid." "Nothing to steal from the crib." "Not stealing, Pa. He was just lying there. Hans found him froze. That's where he was when Hans found him." Pa laughed. "I **ain't** hid **nothing** in the crib."* (*BROWN* K24 0370-0420)

(166) *"Damm you, Adams" - Jess was beginning to recover from his initial shock. "We **ain't** got **nothing** to talk about.* (*BROWN* N12 0730-0740)

(167) *"There **ain't nothin'** faster, or lonelier, or more direct than a cannonball freight when you wanna go someplace," Feathertop would say.* (*BROWN* N29 0050-0080)

(168) *"The accommodations may not be the poshest, but man there **ain't nobody** askin' for your ticket stub, neither."* (*BROWN* N29 0080-0110)

(169) *Particularly touching are scenes from the occupation, in which Japan aped all things American: a patronizing American newsreel shows "a Jap jazz band for Joe and Mrs. Joe" and a Japanese Elvis attempts to sing "You **Ain't Nothin'** But a Hound Dog."* (*FROWN* C17 99-103)

(170) *There **ain't nobody** with Squint but them two boys of his, is there?" Zach said.* (*FROWN* N01 170-171)

(171) *"By God, I **ain't** goin' **nowhere**!" Wiggins shouted.* (*FROWN* N03 51-52)

(172) *He **ain't** got **no** supernatural powers."* (*FROWN* N09 26-27)

(173) *I **ain't** got **no** use for people who'd hurt a girl like that.* (*FROWN* N09 166-167)

(174) *"If I ain't heard from him by five o'clock," say, "I'll figure **nothing ain't** going to be done."* (*FROWN* R04 91-93)

(175) *I**'m not** gonna trouble **nobody no** more - **not** you, **not** the cops, **nobody**."* (*ACE* L08)

(176) *um there**'s not nothing** that she actually wanted for* (WSC#DGB027:0300:Z1)

(177) *it **ain't** seen **nothing** in it yeah* (*WSC*#DPC330:1650:AY)

(178) *yes well that is quite oh how di have did you do d your do yours oh you **haven't no*** (*WSC*#DPC157:1330:SL)

(179) *you know you can't just sit at home and do nothing and i know anna **hasn't never** sat and home and done nothing and* (*WSC*#DPF078:0575:NP)

Significantly enough, all the examples with double negation in the *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *FROWN* corpora, as my earlier example from the *LOB* corpus (example (161) above), show the negative form *ain't*. In examples (165), (166), (172) and (173), *ain't* stands for a form of the verb *have*, while in the remaining examples it corresponds to a form of the operator *be*. Also significant is the fact that five out of these 17 instances of double negation occur in an existential *there*-construction (cf. examples (162), (165), (168), (170) and (176) above), as also happens with my earlier instance (161) from the *LOB*.

As can be seen, all these examples with the exception of (163) and (169), which are taken from categories G (Belle lettres, biographies and essays) and C (Press review) respectively, belong to the most informal text-types in each corpora. Thus, (162) and (174) are taken from Cat R (Humour) (from the *FLOB* and *FROWN* respectively); (164) and (165) have been recorded in category K (General fiction); examples (166) to (168) (from the *BROWN* corpus); and (170) to (173) (from the *FROWN* corpus) are included in category N (Adventure and

western fiction); and example (175) is recorded in Cat L (Mystery and detective fiction) in *ACE*. The remaining four instances belong to the *WSC* and correspond to Radio talkback (DGB) (example (176)), Conversation (DPC) (examples (177) and (178)) and Telephone conversation (DPF) (example (179)). Nevertheless, the instances from categories G and C mentioned above are also related to informal style, since they take part in direct speech (cf. example (163)) and in the title of a song (cf. example (169)), respectively.

Another important feature of the *be*-operator is that it can function as either a lexical verb or as an auxiliary (cf. Sections II.3.1.5., II.3.2.3.5. and II.4.1. above). The results obtained from the *LOB* corpus in accordance with this twofold distinction are given in Table 22:

Table 22. Lexical *be* vs. auxiliary *be* in *LOB*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		566 (81.09%)	132 (18.91%)		698
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	40 (55.56%)	32 (44.44%)	41 (20.3%)	72
	Passive	121 (93.08%)	9 (6.92%)		130

As the figures in the table show, contractions are somewhat more common with the auxiliary verb *be* (20.3%) than with *be* as a lexical verb (18.91%). In this respect my data corroborate Quirk *et al*.'s (1985:123) assertion (cf. Section II.3.1.5.), but contrast with the statements found in Philips & Reynolds (1987) or Westergren (1998), where contractions are claimed to be more frequently used with main verbs than with auxiliaries. Moreover, when used in an auxiliary function, my data show that the contracted variants are favoured with progressive

be (44.44%) rather than with passive *be* (6.92%), which confirms Biber *et al*.'s (1999: 1129) results (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above). However, the higher proportion of contractions with auxiliary *be* than with lexical *be* does not hold for the two possible contracted types. As seen in Table 23 below, OpeCs are more frequent with *be* in its auxiliary function (78.05% vs. 57.58%), while with NotCs the balance is reversed: the contracted form is more common with lexical *be* than with auxiliary *be* (42.42% vs. 21.95%).

Table 23. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *LOB*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		76 (57.58%)		56 (42.42%)		132
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	28 (87.5%)	32 (78.05%)	4 (12.5%)	9 (21.95%)	32
	Passive	4 (44.44%)		5 (55.56%)		9

Let us now turn to the analysis of the behaviour of the *have*-operator in the different text-types. As shown in Table 24 below, I have found 437 examples of the negative forms under analysis with the operator *have* distributed in the following way: 291 cases of UncNs (NF per 10,000 words 2.91), only 7 cases of OpeCs (NF 0.08) and 139 cases of NotCs (NF 1.39). As in the case of *be*, UncNs are the preferred variant, even in some informal categories such as General fiction (Cat K), Science fiction (Cat M) and Humour (Cat R), in contrast to other fictional categories, such as L, N and P, which show the expected preponderance of contractions in informal text-types. Besides, there is no evidence of contractions either in category D (Religion) or in category H (Miscellaneous). Another discrepancy between the behaviour of this operator and that of the previous one is

that the proportional difference between UncNs and contractions with *have* (NF 2.91 for UncNs vs. NF 1.46 for contractions) is considerably lower than that with the *be*-operator (NF 7.26 for UncNs vs. NF 1.73 for contractions).

Table 24. Negative forms with the *have*-operator in *LOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	28 (3.18)	1 (0.11)	9 (1.02)	38
CAT B	54,000	9 (1.66)	-	2 (0.37)	11
CAT C	34,000	6 (1.76)	-	2 (0.58)	8
CAT D	34,000	7 (2.05)	-	-	7
CAT E	76,000	11 (1.44)	-	6 (0.78)	17
CAT F	88,000	22 (2.5)	-	11 (1.25)	33
CAT G	154,000	54 (3.5)	-	3 (0.19)	57
CAT H	60,000	20 (3.33)	-	-	20
CAT J	160,000	37 (2.31)	-	1 (0.06)	38
CAT K	58,000	36 (6.2)	-	14 (2.41)	50
CAT L	48,000	13 (2.7)	2 (0.41)	28 (5.83)	43
CAT M	12,000	5 (4.16)	-	3 (2.5)	8
CAT N	58,000	16 (2.75)	3 (0.51)	18 (3.1)	37
CAT P	58,000	23 (3.96)	1 (0.17)	40 (6.89)	64
CAT R	18,000	4 (2.22)	-	2 (1.11)	6
TOTAL	1,000,000	291 (2.91)	7 (0.07)	139 (1.39)	437

As regards the use of contractions with the *have*-operator, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all categories where both kinds of negative forms are present. As already mentioned, only seven examples of OpeCs have been recorded, most of them in informal categories (cf. examples (180)-(186) below).

(180) ***I've not*** *seen such a perfectly balanced player for years.* (*LOB* A07 228)

(181) *He**'s not** been here more than a few days altogether.* (*LOB* L11 144-145)

(182) *"I**'d not** the nerve - let alone the body" Winter said candidly.* (*LOB* L16 55-56)

(183) *"The kitchen**'s not** been built that will hold two women- it's not your fault or the lass's.* (*LOB* N28 123-124)

(184) *After mumbling her thanks, the younger woman sat red-faced and unmoving until the other suddenly said in a tired voice: "I**'ve not** been much of a mother to you, Helen.* (*LOB* N28 184-186)

(185) *Helen said lamely, then tried again: "I**'ve not** been much of a daughter to you, come to that."* (*LOB* N28 188-189)

(186) *"You**'ve not** told your wife yet?"* (*LOB* P26 153-154)

In this respect, the operator *have* differs from the *be*-operator, which, as seen above, favours the use of OpeCs (cf. Table 20 above), thus confirming the statements by Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1596f), Biber *et al*. (1999: 166, 1129ff) or Kortmann (2003: 70f), among other scholars (cf. Section II.3.2. above).

As far as the behaviour of individual forms is concerned, among the different forms of this operator (*have not*, *has not* and *had not* with their corresponding OpeCs *'ve not*, *'s not* and *'d not*, and NotCs *haven't*, *hasn't* and *hadn't*),[67] the uncontracted form *had not* is the predominant one (167 occurrences, which represent 38.13% of the total), followed by *has not* (15.98%) and *have not* (12.33%) (cf. Table 25 below). Among contractions, *hadn't* presents the highest ratio (49.31%).

[67] In the *LOB* corpus there has not been recorded any example with the form *ain't* representing *have*.

Table 25. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *LOB*

	Have not			*Has not*			*Had not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	7	1	7	9	-	2	12	-	-
CAT B	3	-	2	5	-	-	1	-	-
CAT C	1	-	1	3	-	1	2	-	-
CAT D	-	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-
CAT E	7	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	5
CAT F	6	-	5	7	-	5	9	-	1
CAT G	11	-	1	15	-	-	28	-	2
CAT H	5	-	-	9	-	-	6	-	-
CAT J	11	-	-	13	-	-	13	-	1
CAT K	-	-	3	-	-	-	36	-	11
CAT L	-	-	8	-	1	1	13	1	19
CAT M	-	-	2	1	-	-	4	-	1
CAT N	-	2	8	-	1	1	16	-	9
CAT P	2	1	12	3	-	6	18	-	22
CAT R	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	-	1
TOTAL	**54**	**4**	**51**	**70**	**2**	**16**	**167**	**1**	**72**

The UncN *had not* is much more frequent than its corresponding NotC form (*hadn't*) not only in the most formal categories, with the exception of category E (Skills, trades and hobbies) (three occurrences of *had not* vs. five of *hadn't*), but also in more informal text-types, such as General fiction (Cat K) (36 instances of *had not* vs. 11 examples of *hadn't*). The only exception to this tendency is found in category P (Romance and love story), where the NotC counterpart seems to be preferred (18 vs. 22 occurrences). As to the OpeC forms *'s not* and *'d not*, only two examples of the former and one single occurrence of the latter have been attested (cf. examples (181) to (183) above), probably because of their potential

confusion with the OpeC for *is not* and *would not*, respectively (cf. Sections II.3.2.3. and II.4.2. above).

An important difference between this operator and the verb *be* already analysed is that the frequency of contractions with the operator *have* functioning as an auxiliary (104 out of 373 examples, 27.88%) is much lower than that of *have* as a lexical verb (41 out of 64 instances, 64.06%). Our results thus contrast with the assertions by Sinclair (1990: 453) and Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129) that the proportion of contractions is higher with auxiliary *have* (cf. Sections II.3.1.5. and II.4.2. above). The stronger preference for contracted forms with lexical *have* is particularly obvious in the case of NotCs (62.5% lexical vs. 26.27% auxiliary).

It must be added here that, besides negation with *not*, as in examples (187a-c) below (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 131), the lexical verb *have* can also be negated in BrE by means of the so-called *do*-support, as in examples (188a-c). Although the present study is not concerned with the latter type of negation, it seems worth mentioning that only 16 instances of the lexical verb *have* negated with the auxiliary *do* have been identified in *LOB* (20% out of a total of 80 occurrences of negated lexical *have* in the corpus). In this respect, my data seem to confirm Quirk *et al*.'s statement that examples of the type shown in (187) are more frequent in BrE than those in (188).

(187) a. *His only reference to Trelawny by name in the course of several communications to Hobhouse and Kinnaird about Byron's affairs is satirical: 'I* ***have not*** *the honor of any acquaintance with Mr Trelawny who seems to have had charge of the Mule when Count*

Gamba accompanied the remains of our deceased friend to Zante....' (*LOB* G07 10-14)

b. *But he **hasn't** a penny left to give her, all the same.* (*LOB* L13 168-169)

c. *Moreover, for much of the fifteenth century, Spain's cereal and financial problems were less acute than were those of Portugal, and therefore the Spaniards **had not** the same economic incentives to seek new lands to conquer or to exploit.* (*LOB* J 58 184-187)

(188) a. *"You **don't have** the family quarrelling about which channel to go on."* (*LOB* J26 89-90)

b. *"Oh, but Mother" I flared, "everything has to be like that now or it **doesn't have** a chance risque, they call it."* (*LOB* K 25 89-90)

c. *He **did not have** a copy.* (*LOB* D 15 101-102)

In some of the corpus instances the operator *have* is a lexical verb followed by *got* (cf. examples under (189) below). Only 18 instances of this kind have been recorded in *LOB*, which represent 4.11% of the total of the forms with *have*, distributed among all categories but C (Press review), K (General fiction) and M (Science fiction). The number of contracted forms with *have got* outnumbers that of full forms: eight instances of UncNs (44.44%) vs. ten occurrences of contractions (55.56%). However, the low number of examples recorded do not allow me to give definite conclusions in this respect.

(189) a. *Reduced to their baser elements the motives that drive anyone to invest in a few lines of Times type are not so greatly different from those of advertisers in lesser journals: the desire to acquire something you **have not got** yourself, including money; the complementary urge to sell someone else something you have yourself but would sooner be without.* (*LOB* R05 152-157)

b. *I picked up the ring, placed it on my finger and said: "People will wonder why I* ***haven't got*** *an engagement ring."* (*LOB* F12 9-11)

While UncNs are clearly preferred to contractions with the two operators analysed so far, uncontracted and contracted forms show an even distribution with the operator *will*, as shown in Table 26 below.

Table 26. Distribution of negative forms with the *will*-operator in *LOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	7 (0.79)	22
CAT B	54,000	15 (2.77)	-	3 (0.55)	18
CAT C	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	3 (0.88)	7
CAT D	34,000	7 (2.05)	-	3 (0.88)	10
CAT E	76,000	10 (1.31)	-	4 (0.52)	14
CAT F	88,000	5 (0.56)	-	10 (1.13)	15
CAT G	154,000	13 (0.84)	-	1 (0.06)	14
CAT H	60,000	9 (1.5)	-	-	9
CAT J	160,000	11 (0.68)	-	1 (0.06)	12
CAT K	58,000	1 (0.17)	-	13 (2.24)	14
CAT L	48,000	3 (0.62)	1 (0.2)	11 (2.29)	15
CAT M	12,000	3 (2.5)	-	1 (0.83)	4
CAT N	58,000	3 (0.51)	3 (0.51)	12 (2.06)	18
CAT P	58,000	-	1 (0.17)	25 (4.31)	26
CAT R	18,000	1 (0.55)	-	2 (1.11)	3
TOTAL	1,000,000	100 (1)	5 (0.05)	96 (0.96)	201

As can be seen, in the *LOB* corpus the frequency of contractions with *will* (NF 1.01) is only slightly higher than that of UncNs (NF 1). In turn, NotC is the preferred contracted variant in all categories where contractions occur. Particularly noticeable in this respect is Romance and love story (Cat P), where

the frequency of NotC is as high as 4.31 and where no uncontracted form has been recorded. Notice also that the number of OpeCs with this operator in the corpus is very low, only five examples, distributed among three fictional categories, namely Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L), Adventure and western fiction (Cat N) and Romance and love story (Cat P) (cf. examples (190) to (194) below). Besides, in spite of its very low frequency of occurrence, *'ll not* is found with all grammatical persons in the *LOB* corpus.

(190) *Ah well, you**'ll not** be seeing the sun here today.* (*LOB* L11 217-218)

(191) *"It**'ll not** come soon enough for me," retorted the other ungraciously, and turned as Helen entered to berate her for leaving the outside door ajar.* (*LOB* N28 74-76)

(192) *But you**'ll not** change what's to come, though you talk till you drop.* (*LOB* N28 139-140)

(193) *From the doorway, old Morag said: "Aye, but she**'ll not** be twice that before she's bouncing her first-born on her knee."* (*LOB* N28 212-213)

(194) ***I'll not** be jealous of your work.* (*LOB* P13 137)

By contrast, UncNs are favoured over contractions from category A to category J, i.e. the formal categories, except for category F (Popular lore). Surprisingly, full forms also predominate over their contracted counterparts in Science fiction (Cat M) (NF 2.5 for UncNs vs. 0.83 for NotCs), where I would expect a higher frequency of negative contractions instead. In this respect, as mentioned in Section II.3.1.1. above, Cat M, despite being an informal category, is closely related to the formal category J (Learned and scientific writings) due to the subject matter of the texts included in this fictional genre (cf. also Kjellmer 1998: 171). Finally, in the case of category H (Miscellaneous), there is no evidence of

contractions, so that the operator *will* behaves in the same way as the operators *be* and *have* analysed above.

The last operator, which allows the three alternatives of negation and which is studied in relation to different text-types in the LOB corpus is the operator, *would*. The distribution of its UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs is shown in Table 27 below.

Table 27. The operator *would* in *LOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	18 (2.04)	-	4 (0.45)	22
CAT B	54,000	4 (0.74)	-	-	4
CAT C	34,000	5 (1.47)	-	-	5
CAT D	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	3 (0.88)	6
CAT E	76,000	11 (1.44)	-	-	11
CAT F	88,000	12 (1.36)	-	2 (0.22)	14
CAT G	154,000	28 (1.81)	-	2 (0.12)	30
CAT H	60,000	11 (1.83)	-	-	11
CAT J	160,000	11 (0.68)	-	1 (0.06)	12
CAT K	58,000	20 (3.44)	-	18 (3.1)	38
CAT L	48,000	9 (1.87)	2 (0.41)	25 (5.2)	36
CAT M	12,000	-	-	1 (0.83)	1
CAT N	58,000	6 (1.03)	1 (0.17)	21 (3.62)	28
CAT P	58,000	12 (2.06)	-	17 (2.93)	29
CAT R	18,000	4 (2.22)	-	1 (0.55)	5
TOTAL	1,000,000	154 (1.54)	3 (0.03)	95 (0.95)	252

The total number of examples with *would* in the *LOB* corpus amounts to 252, which are distributed as follows: 154 cases of UncNs (NF 1.54), only three instances of OpeCs (NF 0.03), all of them in fictional categories (cf. examples

(195) to (197) below), and 95 examples of NotCs (NF 0.95). Therefore, as was the case with the *be* and *have*-operators, there is an overall preference for UncNs with *would*.

(195) *At this I jumped to my feet in alarm, as I**'d not** have been at all surprised if the entire roof had collapsed.* (*LOB* L15 26-27)

(196) *His eyes were staring at me wildly as if he**'d not** hesitate to do me an injury if I gave him what he might think was a false explanation.* (*LOB* L15 65-67)

(197) *You**'d not** be wanting to go away from your home if I had.* (*LOB* N28 186-187)

As Table 27 above evinces, not only the formal categories A-J, but also the informal text-types K and R favour the use of UncNs over contractions. In the remaining fictional categories, NotCs are preferred, not only over OpeCs, but also over UncNs. It is noticeable that in categories B (Press reportage), C (Press review), E (Skills, trades and hobbies) and H (Miscellaneous), not a single instance of contraction has been recorded, while in category M (Science fiction) no UncNs are present.

Two examples with *would* involving a NotC deserve further comment. These are given as (198) and (199) below.

(198) *Suddenly the soldier relaxed his rigid posture, looked down at the Chief Constable, and in a totally different voice full of challenging contempt for his interrogator's obtuseness, he said, **'y'wouldn't** like me to tell you, wouldya?'* (*LOB* G23 78-81)

(199) *Maybe it **wouldn't've** suited her to clear out with nothing, even if it wasn't much of a match for a girl as young and pretty as that.* (*LOB* L14 101-103)

In example (198), the subject of *wouldn't* is a second person, in this case the pronoun *you*, which is reduced to *y* (cf. *OED* s.v. *y*[1]). This abbreviated pronoun is fused with the operator *would* to which the negator *not* is also attached, thus forming what could be called a "doubly clitic form" (cf. Brinton 2004: 236). What may seem surprising here is the appearance of this form in a category such as Belle lettres, memoirs and biographies (Cat G), which is rather formal (cf. Figure 9 in Section III.1.1. above). Notice, however, that the form under analysis occurs in a sequence of reported speech, which also contains a question tag with the second person pronoun *ya*, a written representation of the pronunciation of *you* (cf. *OED* s.v. *ya*). In the question tag, the pronoun is also linked to the operator *would*, giving *wouldya*.

Example (199), in turn, also shows two different contractions attached to the operator *would*, namely *n't* and *'ve*, both of them following the operator. According to some scholars (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 1595ff), constructions of this kind are considered ungrammatical in SE. However, as can be seen, double contraction involving *n't've* is sporadically found in written BrE from the 1960s. Besides, similar examples are occasionally attested in some of the other corpora used in my study, both with *would* and with *have* as operators. These are given below:

(200) *"You know, all they'd've seen from the deck was this little figure jumping up and down, waving its arms, and they* ***wouldn't've*** *known what on earth it was getting so excited about."* (*FLOB* K04 148-151)

(201) *no i think he stopped smoking at eighty and he lived to ninety which he* ***wouldn't've*** *lived to otherwisee.* (*WSC*#DGB051:0905:HE)

(202) *yes we've we've been fortunate enough to have some of the women who've been in our whare at the time who went and saw the movie and some of the things that they talked about was that um um they did have er dungy friends like um like the woman who came in and said is that a result of one hell of an orgasm or what you know the day after beth had got a hiding and er we had a bit of a giggle about that and they said yes we do have friends who say silly things like that like girl if you'd just shut your mouth and um put up with it if you just if you know if you didn't open your mouth then you* ***wouldn't've*** *got that hiding.* (*WSC*#DGI157:0115:PK)

(203) *he he* ***wouldn't've*** *had okay so.* (*WSC*#DGZ072:0360:WL)

(204) *she said japanese boys* ***wouldn't've*** *<unclear>word</unclear>.* (*WSC*#DPC123:0715:VV)

(205) *they would've given shepherd would've given the money to stansfield whether he thought hill was a partner or not so that was that was the problem that's why it wouldn't fit and because really <unclear>word</unclear> they decided there was no hole in the <unclear>word</unclear> case um there* ***wouldn't've*** *been a successful um action under three either because in order to fit under the <unclear>word</unclear> rules you have to be holding yourself out um and the person has to be something on reliance of this holding out and of course they couldn't fit this either so we'll look at a case where this fits and that doesn't after.* (*WSC*#MUL005:0325:YR)

(206) *a lot of other members of opposition re research unit* ***haven't've*** *been.* (*WSC*#DGU019:0280:??)

(207) *if it* ***hadn't've*** *been for the um crusaders probably i wouldn't have got all that interested in tramping.* (*WSC*#DPC079:0840:BD)

(208) *an interesting rule in this game as well that even if the touch* ***hadn't've*** *been made brendan she wouldn't have been able to score because of this competition under these rules the dummy half can't score.* (*WSC*#MUC024:0990:KL)

One of these examples belongs to written BrE from the 1990s, represented in the *FLOB* corpus (example (200) above), while the remaining instances are recorded in spoken NzE (examples (201) to (208) from the *WSC* corpus). Nevertheless, it must be noted that the two examples of double contraction in the written medium (examples (199) and (200) above) belong to two of the less formal categories in the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora, namely Cat L (Mystery and detective fiction) and Cat K (General fiction), respectively. All this evidence suggests that such 'doubly clitic forms' are more likely to be related to informal or spoken style than to more formal types of language.

A comparison of the behaviour of the four operators analysed in the preceding pages reveals that UncNs are the predominant type of negative forms in the *LOB* corpus with the verbs *be*, *have* and *would*, while for *will* the frequency of contracted forms is somewhat higher than that of UncNs. The latter variant is more common in the most formal categories, even with *will*. However, it is also noticeable that the proportion of UncNs is much higher with the *be*-operator (NF 7.26) than with the three other verbs (NF 2.91 for *have*, 1 for *will* and 1.54 for *would*). As far as negative contractions are concerned, the verb *be* also differs from the other operators, since it prefers OpeCs to NotCs, thus corroborating the assertions by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) or Anderwald (2002), among others (cf. Section II.4.1. above).

Besides text-category, the type of subject is another determining factor in the selection between contractions and full forms (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123, Krug

1998: 289 or Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129f, among others). It is generally accepted that contractions are favoured with simple pronominal subjects, while UncNs are preferred with more complex subjects, such as NPs or clauses (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above). The data obtained from the *LOB* corpus for the different operators in accordance with the type of subject are given in Table 28 below. As can be observed, simple pronominal subjects prefer UncNs with all operators except *will*, with which contracted forms, especially NotCs, are more frequent than UncNs. Uncontracted forms also predominate with all other kinds of subjects with the exception of existential *there*, which favours the use of contractions with all operators but *have*. Therefore, the aforementioned expected predominance of contractions with simple pronominal subjects does not hold true in BrE texts from the 1960s.

Table 28. Distribution of negative forms according to type of subject and operator in *LOB*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	363 (3.63)	105 (1.05)	38 (0.38)	163 (1.63)	6 (0.06)	112 (1.12)	41 (0.41)	5 (0.05)	77 (0.77)	86 (0.86)	3 (0.03)	78 (0.78)	1,077 (10.77)
Pronoun													
Complex	2 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.05)
Simple	286 (2.86)	-	13 (0.13)	110 (1.1)	1 (0.01)	22 (0.22)	43 (0.43)	-	14 (0.14)	55 (0.55)	-	12 (0.12)	556 (5.56)
NP Complex	28 (0.28)	-	-	12 (0.12)	-	2 (0.02)	10 (0.1)	-	1 (0.01)	7 (0.07)	-	3 (0.03)	62 (0.62)
Compound	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	2 (0.02)
Exist. *there*	10 (0.1)	2 (0.02)	13 (0.13)	4 (0.04)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	3 (0.03)	1 (0.01)	-	2 (0.02)	36 (0. 63)
Clause	37 (0.37)	1 (0.01)	2 (0.02)	2 (0.02)	-	-	4 (0.04)	-	1 (0.01)	4 (0.04)	-	-	51 (0.51)

It must be noted, however, that the frequency of contractions is higher with simple pronominal subjects than with NPs for the four verbs analysed. A plausible explanation for this is that sequences involving pronouns as subjects are more numerous than those with NPs, and, according to Krug's notion of string frequency (1998: 294) (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above), the more frequent a given sequence is, the higher is its contraction ratio. In order to check whether this statement holds true in the *LOB* corpus, I have selected at random two potentially contractible sequences, one with a simple pronoun (*he is not*), and one with a NP subject (*man is not*).[68] The *LOB* contains 34 instances of the first of these sequences (*he is not*), out of which nine (26.47%) show contracted forms (cf. examples (209a-c) below). By contrast, only two sequences with the selected NP subject (*the man is not*) have been attested, and none of them is contracted (cf. example (210) below). Although the low number of instances recorded with both sequences do not allow to draw definite conclusions, my BrE data from the 1960s seem to confirm Krug's statement, since the most frequent sequences are also those which contract more often.

(209) a. ***He is not*** *blindly setting out on debauchery or dissolution as an escapist activity.* (*LOB* D03 164-165)
b. ***He's not*** *very well.* (*LOB* N13 42)
c. *'**He isn't** a Viet,' said someone else.* (*LOB* N23 103)

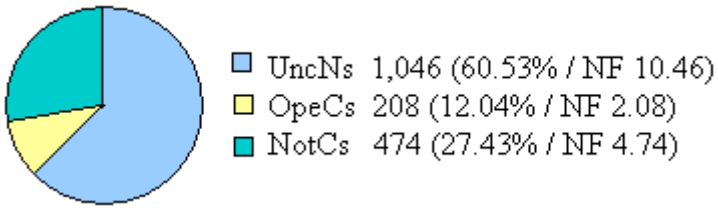
(210) *He begins by observing that "it is a waste of words to argue against the received doctrine of man's immortality, as if that doctrine implied that **man is not** mortal."* (*LOB* D14 149-151)

[68] In the corpus, NP subjects are rarely repeated.

3.4.2. The *Freiburg-Lob Corpus of British English* (*FLOB*)

The previous section was devoted to the use of contractions vs. uncontracted negative forms in written BrE in the 1960s. This section will, in turn, be concerned with the variation between the three alternative forms of negation in BrE texts from the 1990s. As mentioned in Section 2.3. above, the *FLOB* corpus contains 1,728 examples of the negative forms under analysis, distributed as follows: 1,046 for UncNs (NF per 10,000 words: 10.46), 208 for OpeCs (NF 2.08) and 474 for NotCs (NF 4.74) (cf. Figure 15 below).

Figure 15. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *FLOB*



Therefore, as was the case in the *LOB* corpus, in *FLOB* there is also an overall predominance of UncNs over contractions, and NotCs are far more frequent than OpeC. Thus, example (211a) below is preferred to (211b) and (211c), and the contracted type in example (211c) prevails over that in (211b).

(211) a. *Notwithstanding their complex mental, practical and emotional associations, words **are not** mere semantic entities.* (*FLOB* G60 56-57)

b. *"But you**'re not** to tell anyone," I told her, "because it is still meant to be classified."* (*FLOB* R05 49-51)

c. *On climbs it performs well, the tyres are fairly good on most surfaces, and you **aren't** too cramped in the cockpit.* (*FLOB* E17 87-89)

The distribution of the corpus instances according to text-type is shown in Table 29 below. As can be seen, all text-categories, except Miscellaneous (Cat H), show the three alternatives available to negate. However, in categories A to J the proportion of UncNs is considerably higher than that of contractions, while, by contrast, in categories K to R there is a predominance of contractions over uncontracted forms. The opposite behaviour of these two groups of texts becomes obvious if I compare the normalised frequencies per 10,000 words obtained for UncNs in categories B (NF 15.55) or D (NF 17.64), for example, on the one hand, and K (NF 4.13) or R (NF 3.33), on the other.

Table 29. UncN/OpeC/NotC examples according to text-type in *FLOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	93 (10.56)	10 (1.13)	30 (3.4)	133
CAT B	54,000	84 (15.55)	7 (1.29)	24 (4.44)	115
CAT C	34,000	33 (9.7)	4 (1.17)	14 (4.11)	51
CAT D	34,000	60 (17.64)	1 (0.29)	2 (0.58)	63
CAT E	76,000	75 (9.86)	9 (1.18)	23 (3.02)	107
CAT F	88,000	107 (12.15)	5 (0.56)	19 (2.15)	131
CAT G	154,000	156 (10.12)	4 (0.25)	12 (0.77)	172
CAT H	60,000	65 (10.83)	-	-	65
CAT J	160,000	222 (13.87)	3 (0.18)	4 (0.25)	229
CAT K	58,000	24 (4.13)	41 (7.06)	87 (15)	152
CAT L	48,000	29 (6.04)	32 (6.66)	103 (21.45)	164
CAT M	12,000	6 (5)	5 (4.16)	12 (10)	23
CAT N	58,000	29 (5)	35 (6.03)	55 (9.48)	119
CAT P	58,000	57 (9.82)	47 (8.1)	70 (12.06)	174
CAT R	18,000	6 (3.33)	5 (2.77)	19 (10.55)	30
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,046 (10.46)	208 (2.08)	474 (4.74)	1,728

As regards the use of contractions, it must be said that, disregarding the category Miscellaneous (Cat H) mentioned above, where no instances of contractions have been found, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all text-types. This is specially noticeable in Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L), where NotCs (NF 21.45) clearly outnumber OpeCs (NF 6.66).

As can be seen, the distribution of the three variants does not differ too much from that attested for written BrE from the 1960s (cf. Table 19 above). However, we witness from the 1960s to the 1990s an increase in the use of contractions (both OpeCs and NotCs) and a parallel decrease in the number of UncNs (for more details, cf. the comparison of both corpora provided in Section 3.6.1. below).

As in the study of the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), in what follows each operator will be discussed separately. Firstly, I shall analyse the distribution of occurrences of the three variants under consideration with the operator *be* (cf. Table 30 below). As the data in this table evince, UncNs are, once again, more common than contractions in those categories which are characterised as formal (A to J, both included). The predominance of UncNs, as in example (212a) below, is very conspicuous in category D (Religion) (NF 12.35), where only one single occurrence of a contracted form (NF 0.29) has been found. This is given as (212b).[69] By contrast, contracted forms are preferred in those text-types more closely related to the spoken style, i.e. the most informal categories, K to R, both included.

[69] As seen in Table 30 below, in Religion (Cat D) there is no evidence of NotCs.

(212) a. *And it **is not** too fanciful to see a hierarchy of canticle settings: 'short' settings, often with alternation between the two sides of the choir, for ordinary days; 'verse' settings with one or two soloists, for the equivalent of the old Feasts of Nine Lessons; and 'great' services with as many as eight choral parts and as many soloists for principal feasts.* (*FLOB* D05 173-179)

b. *Then afterwards I thought, it**'s not** so big a thing, not really.* (*FLOB* D06 101-102)

Table 30. Distribution of occurrences with the *be*-operator in *FLOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	36 (4.09)	10 (1.13)	9 (1.02)	55
CAT B	54,000	53 (9.81)	7 (1.29)	9 (1.66)	69
CAT C	34,000	23 (6.76)	4 (1.17)	9 (2.64)	36
CAT D	34,000	42 (12.35)	1 (0.29)	-	43
CAT E	76,000	52 (6.84)	8 (1.05)	8 (1.05)	68
CAT F	88,000	72 (8.18)	5 (0.56)	9 (1.02)	86
CAT G	154,000	94 (6.1)	4 (0.25)	3 (0.19)	101
CAT H	60,000	40 (6.66)	-	-	65
CAT J	160,000	153 (9.56)	3 (0.18)	-	156
CAT K	58,000	10 (1.72)	39 (6.72)	19 (3.27)	68
CAT L	48,000	6 (1.25)	30 (6.25)	17 (3.54)	53
CAT M	12,000	2 (1.66)	5 (4.16)	4 (3.33)	11
CAT N	58,000	13 (2.24)	34 (5.86)	10 (1.72)	57
CAT P	58,000	16 (2.75)	40 (6.89)	6 (1.03)	62
CAT R	18,000	3 (1.66)	4 (2.22)	6 (3.33)	13
TOTAL	1,000,000	615 (6.15)	194 (1.94)	109 (1.09)	918

Nevertheless, the most interesting feature of this operator is its preference for OpeCs (1.94) over NotCs (1.09), as was the case with the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1. above). The analysis of individual text-types corroborates this statement,

since OpeCs are more common than NotCs in most categories, with the exception of Press editorial (Cat B), Press review (Cat C), Popular lore (Cat F) and Humour (Cat R), where the balance is reversed in favour of NotCs, and Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E), where the two types of contracted forms are evenly distributed. The predominance of OpeCs is particularly obvious in the fictional categories N (NF 5.86 vs. 1.72) and P (6.89 vs. 1.03). Moreover, both Cat D (Religion) and Cat J (Learned and scientific writings) show no instances of NotCs, which constitutes further evidence of the preference for OpeCs over NotCs with the operator *be*.

As far as individual forms with the *be*-operator are concerned, Table 31 provides the distribution of the three variants at issue with the potentially contractible sequences *am not*, *are not* and is *not*. As shown, only the first person singular prefers the use of contractions to that of full forms (27 occurrences of UncNs vs. 67 of contractions). In this way, the BrE data from the 1990s do not differ from those given above for the *LOB* corpus which contains material from the 1960s (cf. Section 3.4.1.). As can be seen in Table 31, two instances of NotCs for the first person singular have been recorded in this corpus under the form *ain't*, which, as mentioned in Sections II.3.2. and II.4.1. above, is not considered standard by scholars such as Hughes & Trudgill (1996: 21), among many others. These two examples with *ain't* as the NotC of *am not* are recorded in two informal categories, namely Romance and love story (Cat P) and Humour (Cat R), and both of them occur in direct speech. These are given as (213) and (214):

(213) *Molly considered this point, painfully slowly. "The left fork, I reckon. But I* ***ain't*** *certain. Would you like me to fetch Dickon?* (*FLOB* P04 41-43)

(214) *"I **ain't** talking morally wrong," said Sam*. (*FLOB* R07 73)

Table 31. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *FLOB*

	Am not			*Are not*			*Is not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	4	3	-	8	-	2	24	7	7
CAT B	2	2	-	16	1	6	35	4	3
CAT C	1	1	-	2	2	2	20	1	7
CAT D	1	-	-	15	-	-	26	1	-
CAT E	3	2	-	16	1	3	33	5	5
CAT F	1	2	-	32	-	2	39	3	7
CAT G	3	2	-	29	1	1	62	1	2
CAT H	1	-	-	14	-	-	25	-	-
CAT J	1	1	-	33	-	-	119	2	-
CAT K	1	8	-	5	13	6	4	18	13
CAT L	2	13	-	1	7	3	3	10	14
CAT M	-	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	3
CAT N	-	8	-	7	7	2	6	19	8
CAT P	7	19	1	3	5	1	6	16	4
CAT R	-	1	1	2	1	-	1	2	5
TOTAL	**27**	**65**	**2**	**184**	**39**	**29**	**404**	**90**	**78**

Other occurrences of *ain't* have been recorded in *FLOB*, one for *are not* (cf. example (215) below), five for *is not* (cf. examples (162) in Section III.3.4.1 above and (216) to (218) below) and one for *have not* (cf. example (220) below).

(215) *As they say in Alaska, 'If you **ain't** the lead dog the scenery never changes'; now it would seem that, at last, we have an unrestricted view of the horizon ahead.* (*FLOB* F17 211-213)

(216) *Because, although he is the most bankable star on the box in Britain earning pounds 300,000 a year, his name **ain't** worth a dime in the States.* (*FLOB* A19 58-60)

(217) *"If it **ain't** broke, don't fix it."* (*FLOB* C04 194)

(218) *"Because the guy **ain't** dead yet.* (*FLOB* R07 186)

(219) *Then, seeing the wary expression on Ricky's face, "I know you're dyin' to know what I was brought in for, but it **ain't** that.* (*FLOB* R09 163-165)

(220) *"They **ain't** got one.* (*FLOB* L1 57)

As in the case of the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section III.3.4.1. above), the distribution of negative variants with the *be*-operator is also determined by the function of the verb in the clause. Thus, contractions seem to be preferred with *be* as a lexical verb (244 out of 725 instances, 33.66%) than as an auxiliary (59 examples out of 193, 30.57%) (cf. Table 32 below). These data from the *FLOB* therefore differ from those representing BrE from the 1960s, where contractions are favoured with auxiliary *be*. BrE from the 1990s thus confirms the tendency mentioned by Philips & Reynolds (1987) or Westergren (1998) (cf. Section II.3.1.5.).

Table 32. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *FLOB*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		481 (66.34%)	244 (33.66%)		725
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	37 (49.33%)	38 (50.67%)	59 (30.57%)	75
	Passive	97 (82.2%)	21 (17.8%)		118

Moreover, as seen in Table 32, contractions are more frequent with progressive *be* than with passive *be* (50.67% vs. 17.8%), which corroborates Biber *et al.*'s (1999: 1129) findings. As far as contractions are concerned, no differences are detected between the data in *FLOB* and in *LOB*, since the proportion of OpeCs with

auxiliary *be* (78.58%) is higher than with lexical *be* (61.47%), while with NotC the contracted variant is more common with the lexical verb *be* (38.53%), as shown in Table 33 below. When dealing with the distinction between the two auxiliary uses of this verb, OpeCs are, once again, more numerous in progressive VPs than in passive VPs, while the balance is reversed in the case of NotCs.

Table 33. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *FLOB*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		150 (61.47%)		94 (38.53%)		244
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	31 (81.58%)	44 (78.58%)	7 (18.42%)	15 (25.42%)	38
	Passive	13 (61.91%)		8 (38.09%)		21

The data obtained for the verb *be* can be compared with those found for the operator *have* (cf. Table 34 below). At first sight, there seems to be no significant difference between the behaviour of this operator and that of the previous one, since UncNs are also preferred to contractions with *have*, both in the overall count (NF 2.01 vs. 1.79) as well as in categories A to J. Besides, contractions predominate over UncNs from categories K to R. However, the proportional difference between full forms and contractions is not so high with the operator *have* (0.23) as with *be* (3.12). Nevertheless, the operator *have* clearly differs from *be* in that NotC constitutes the preferred contracted variant in all text-types. As a matter of fact, no occurrences of OpeCs have been found in a large number of categories (A, B, C, D, F, G, H, J, M and N).

Table 34. Negative instances with the *have*-operator in *FLOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	17 (1.93)	-	8 (0.9)	25
CAT B	54,000	11 (2.03)	-	9 (1.66)	20
CAT C	34,000	6 (1.76)	-	4 (1.17)	10
CAT D	34,000	7 (2.05)	-	1 (0.29)	8
CAT E	76,000	13 (1.71)	1 (0.13)	6 (0.78)	20
CAT F	88,000	14 (1.59)	-	2 (0.22)	16
CAT G	154,000	38 (2.46)	-	1 (0.06)	39
CAT H	60,000	9 (1.5)	-	-	9
CAT J	160,000	29 (1.81)	-	2 (0.12)	31
CAT K	58,000	9 (1.55)	2 (0.34)	37 (6.37)	48
CAT L	48,000	15 (3.12)	1 (0.2)	41 (8.54)	57
CAT M	12,000	3 (2.5)	-	5 (4.16)	8
CAT N	58,000	6 (1.03)	-	22 (3.79)	28
CAT P	58,000	22 (3.79)	3 (0.51)	26 (4.48)	51
CAT R	18,000	2 (1.11)	1 (0.55)	7 (3.88)	10
TOTAL	1,000,000	201 (2.01)	8 (0.08)	171 (1.71)	380

This marked preference for NotCs with *have* is also evident in the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1 above). The only eight instances of OpeCs are recorded in categories E, K, L, P and R, as illustrated in examples (221) to (228) below.

(221) *You don't have to go on our trips - you can explore on your own - but do come, especially if you**'ve not** attended before.* (*FLOB* E07 115-116)

(222) *"You**'ve not** got what to takes to be a father.* (*FLOB* K10 141-142)

(223) *"When the week ended, we came back here, but almost before we'd reached home the closeness we'd achieved on holiday had gone, as though it would have been embarrassing and out of place in front of*

*your wife, my mother; she**'d not** been pleased at our going off without her.* (*FLOB* K20 169-173)

(224) *We**'ve not** finished with the material from the priory site yet, you see, and it wouldn't be sensible to neglect identifying what might be important primary and positive data, would it?* (*FLOB* L10 210-213)

(225) *"It**'s not** b-been lived in ..."* (*FLOB* P03 68)

(226) *She wondered whether, lately, she**'d not** noticed that Rob had been growing restless.* (*FLOB* P19 204-205)

(227) *There was something unpredictable in her that was only explained now he knew about her convent background, something about the unexpected ways in which she reacted to quite simple things, like the workman's whistle from the building site in Cornhill: she had so little personal vanity, she**'d not** even connected it with herself.* (*FLOB* P18 69-74)

(228) *The House It wasn't far from where he lived, just a stop further on the tube, but he**'d not** been to the area before.* (*FLOB* R02 2-4)

Concerning the individual forms of this operator, the data are given in Table 35 below. The most immediate conclusion to be drawn from this table is that UncNs are more frequent than negative contractions with the forms *had* (101 occurrences of full forms vs. 91 for contractions) and *has* (55 examples of UncNs vs. 20 of contracted forms), while contractions predominate with the form *have* (45 instances of UncNs vs. 68 of contractions). Such a preference for UncNs with *has* and *had* may, in part, be related to phonological reasons, since the OpeC of these two forms (*'s* and *'d*) may also refer to *is* and *would*, respectively. Therefore, UncNs are probably preferred in such cases in order to avoid potential ambiguity.

Table 35. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *FLOB*

	Have not			*Has not*			*Had not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	2	-	6	6	-	1	9	-	1
CAT B	2	-	3	5	-	5	4	-	1
CAT C	-	-	2	6	-	-	-	-	2
CAT D	4	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-
CAT E	7	1	3	3	-	-	3	-	3
CAT F	6	-	2	5	-	-	3	-	-
CAT G	5	-	-	8	-	-	25	-	1
CAT H	4	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	-
CAT J	10	-	-	15	-	-	4	-	2
CAT K	3	1	14	-	-	3	6	1	20
CAT L	-	1	10	1	-	2	14	-	29
CAT M	-	-	3	1	-	2	2	-	-
CAT N	-	-	9	-	-	2	6	-	11
CAT P	2	-	11	2	1	1	18	2	14
CAT R	-	-	2	-	-	2	2	1	3
TOTAL	**45**	**3**	**65**	**55**	**1**	**19**	**101**	**4**	**87**

As to the behaviour of lexical *have* vs. auxiliary *have*, contractions are vastly more frequent when the operator functions as a lexical verb than when it is an auxiliary (84.21% vs. 42.98%), as also happened in the *LOB* corpus analysed in the preceding section. In this respect the data from *FLOB* do not confirm the statements found in the literature on the topic about the predominance of contractions with auxiliaries rather than with lexical verbs (cf. Sinclair 1990: 453 or Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129, among others) (cf. Sections II.3.1.5. and II.4.2. above). Moreover, regarding the two types of contracted variants, the general tendency of

fused forms to occur to a greater extent with lexical *have* than with *have* as an auxiliary is verified for both OpeCs and NotCs.

Unlike the *LOB* corpus, the *FLOB* shows a predominance of negation by means of *do*-support with the lexical *have* (65 out of 103 relevant instances, 63.11%). These results run counter to Quirk *et al.*'s (1985: 131f) statement that in BrE sentences like those is (229a-c) are more common than those in (230a-c) below. A comparison with the data in *LOB* suggests, therefore, that the latter part of the twentieth century has witnessed an increase in the use of *do*-support to negate lexical *have* in written BrE, so that this variety of English has come closer to AmE (cf. Sections 3.4.3. and 3.4.4. below.)

(229) a. *Since 'demand' in a capitalist world depends on means, and most of the world's people* ***haven't*** *the means to buy all the 'goodies' that the consumerist society produces (and that the third world is producing more and more of but not being able to afford) the only salvation for capitalism is to make some gestures for re-distribution of wealth towards the have-nots.* (*FLOB* F16 159-164)

b. *If a Baiting team's M05 85 fighter* ***hasn't*** *got the right bounce, then you just pack up and go M05 86 straight home.* (*FLOB* M05 84-86)

c. *The Welsh called it hywel, she believed, the Scots* ***hadn't*** *a word for it, or if they had she didn't know it.* (*FLOB* L19 26-28)

(230) a. *People come to you as a last resort about terrible things that are happening to them and very often you* ***don't have*** *the power to help - you just try.* (*FLOB* F13 36-39)

b. *Their troop* ***doesn't have*** *any milk.* (*FLOB* M01 233)

c. *By that time Benjamin had decided it was time to get up and Kate* ***didn't have*** *much option but to agree.* (*FLOB* L17 118-119)

In *FLOB* a small number of examples show *have* followed by *got* (cf. examples (220), (222) and (229b) above). These amount to 20 instances, which represent 5.26% out of the total of examples with negative *have* in the corpus. Most of them (13 instances) correspond to contractions, mainly to the form *haven't*. This may be indicative of the fact that the operator *have* followed by *got* favours the use of contractions. However, the low number of examples of this kind does not allow to give definite conclusions in this respect. Moreover, the majority of these instances (17 out of 20) are recorded in the most informal categories (from K to R), thus confirming Quirk *et al*.'s (1985: 131f) statement that the *have got*-construction tends to be associated with informal BrE. It is also important to mention that the use of *have* plus *got* in written BrE texts seems to have been increasing slowly in the latter part of the twentieth century. In the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), only 4.11% of the relevant occurrences of the operator *have* were cases of the combination *have got*, while in the 1990s the proportion of *have got* has increased up to 5.26%.

Table 36 below provides the distribution of the three forms of negation with the operator w*ill*. Generally speaking, this verb behaves in the same way as the *be* and *have* operators already analysed, since it shows an overall tendency for UncNs (NF 1.14) over contractions (NF 0.94). However, the proportional difference between contracted and uncontracted forms is not so marked as with the two other operators. Besides, categories A to J, on the one hand, and K to R,

on the other, constitute, once more, two clearly opposite groups as regards the selection of uncontracted and contracted variants. Concerning the distribution of the two kinds of contracted forms, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all text-types in which contractions are used.[70]

Table 36. Occurrences with the *will*-operator in *FLOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	25 (2.84)	-	8 (0.9)	33
CAT B	54,000	11 (2.03)	-	5 (0.92)	16
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	-	2
CAT D	34,000	5 (1.47)	-	-	5
CAT E	76,000	4 (0.52)	-	2 (0.26)	6
CAT F	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	7 (0.79)	22
CAT G	154,000	6 (0.38)	-	2 (0.12)	8
CAT H	60,000	11 (1.83)	-	-	11
CAT J	160,000	21 (1.31)	-	-	21
CAT K	58,000	1 (0.17)	-	13 (2.24)	13
CAT L	48,000	1 (0.2)	1 (0.2)	18 (3.75)	20
CAT M	12,000	-	-	3 (2.5)	3
CAT N	58,000	3 (0.51)	1 (0.17)	10 (1.72)	14
CAT P	58,000	8 (1.37)	4 (0.68)	17 (2.93)	29
CAT R	18,000	1 (0.55)	-	4 (2.22)	5
TOTAL	1,000,000	114 (1.14)	6 (0.06)	88 (0.88)	208

In this respect, *will* comes closer to *have* than to the operator *be*, which, as seen above, mostly prefers OpeCs. The six instances of OpeCs recorded in this corpus are the following:

[70] OpeCs are restricted to categories L, N and P.

(231) *"I hope you**'ll not** bother my mother again."* (*FLOB* L07 98-99)

(232) *"Fossick on the surface if you must but it's Sunday, the day of rest, a damn miserable one at that and my advice to you is to take the rest and think hard about what I've said, for I promise you I**'ll not** stay in this place much longer."* (*FLOB* N06 36-39)

(233) *But I**'ll not** have my wife living a lie.* (*FLOB* P03 107)

(234) *I don't love Charles Rankine, and I**'ll not** marry him.* (*FLOB* P20 91-92)

(235) *"I**'ll not** leave until I've made you see sense!* (*FLOB* P20 115)

(236) *This maid has some justice in her complaint but I**'ll not** detain thee for an apology as thy passengers grow restive.* (*FLOB* P28 140-142)

Another operator which shows a preference for UncNs over contractions is *would*, as can be seen in Table 37 below. However, the difference between the proportion of UncNs (NF 1.16) and that of contractions[71] (NF 1.06) is not so conspicuous as with the other operators already examined. Once again, the most formal text-types favour the use of UncNs (from category A to J, with the exception of category E), while contractions are favoured in all informal texts, except in Science fiction (Cat M), where no instances of contractions have been attested. But, perhaps the most outstanding feature of the operator *would* in the *FLOB* corpus is the lack of instances of OpeC. This contrasts with the three occurrences of OpeC attested in its counterpart *LOB* corpus (cf. Table 27 above). The absence of OpeCs with *would* can be related to the desire on the part of speakers and writers to avoid problems of ambiguity, since, as mentioned above, *'d* also stands for the contraction of *had* (cf. also Sections II.3.2.3. and II.4.2.).

[71] As mentioned in Section 3.4.1. above, there is one occurrence of *wouldn't've* (cf. (200) above) which is considered a case of a double clitic form.

Table 37. Negative examples with the *would*-operator in *FLOB*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	5 (0.56)	20
CAT B	54,000	9 (1.66)	-	1 (0.18)	10
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	1 (0.29)	3
CAT D	34,000	6 (1.76)	-	1 (0.29)	7
CAT E	76,000	6 (0.78)	-	7 (0.92)	13
CAT F	88,000	6 (0.68)	-	1 (0.11)	7
CAT G	154,000	18 (1.16)	-	6 (0.38)	24
CAT H	60,000	5 (0.83)	-	-	5
CAT J	160,000	19 (1.18)	-	2 (0.12)	21
CAT K	58,000	4 (0.68)	-	19 (3.27)	23
CAT L	48,000	7 (1.45)	-	27 (5.62)	34
CAT M	12,000	1 (0.83)	-	-	1
CAT N	58,000	7 (1.2)	-	13 (2.24)	20
CAT P	58,000	11 (1.89)	-	21 (3.62)	32
CAT R	18,000	-	-	2 (1.11)	2
TOTAL	1,000,000	116 (1.16)	-	106 (1.06)	222

To sum up, it can be said that, in BrE texts from the 1990s, the four operators at issue favour the use of UncNs over negative contractions, especially in the most formal categories, from A to J, while contractions are favoured in those categories more closely related to speech, i.e. from K to R. As regards contractions, NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators except *be*, thus confirming what has been mentioned in the literature about the exceptional behaviour of this operator (cf. Section II.4.1. above). Moreover, as in the case of the *LOB* corpus, in *FLOB*, the proportion of UncNs is much higher with *be* than with the three other operators analysed in this piece of research.

Let us proceed now to consider the variation between contracted and uncontracted forms in accordance to the type of subject in the *FLOB* corpus. The distribution of the corpus instances is shown in Table 38 below. As was the case in the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), most tokens occur with pronominal subjects. In such a context, all operators except *be* prefer the use of contracted forms over UncNs. In this respect, BrE from the 1990s differs conspicuously from that from the 1960s, since the latter favoured UncNs with all operators except *will* with subjects of this kind (cf. Section 3.4.1. above). Furthermore, of the two contracted variants, *have*, *will* and *would* most commonly select NotCs. By contrast, *be* shows an overall predominance of OpeCs (180 instances) over NotCs (51 examples). The distribution of the three alternative forms to negate with pronouns as subjects just discussed clearly differs from that obtained for NP subjects. Here the four operators examined tend to select UncNs, as in the *LOB* corpus (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), irrespective of whether the NP is simple, complex or compound. Once more, the NotC form is the only contracted variant with *have*, *will* and *would* with nominal subjects, and is by far the most frequent option among contracted forms with the verb *be*. A similar state of affairs is found for this operator in clauses with existential *there* as subject and with clausal subjects. With the remaining subject types, the low number of examples does not allow definitive conclusions. Therefore, the data from the *FLOB* corpus corroborate the assertions found in the literature (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123, Krug 1998: 289 or Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129f, among others), since less complex subjects accept contractions to a greater extent than more complex ones.

Table 38. Distribution of negative forms according to type of subject and operator in *FLOB*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	260 (2.6)	180 (1.8)	51 (0.51)	111 (1.11)	7 (0.07)	138 (1.38)	60 (0.6)	6 (0.06)	67 (0.67)	52 (0.52)	-	86 (0.86)	1,018 (10.18)
Pronoun													
Complex	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Simple	299 (2.99)	11 (0.11)	41 (0.41)	78 (0.78)	-	29 (0.29)	45 (0.45)	-	20 (0.2)	54 (0.54)	-	19 (0.19)	598 (5.98)
NP Complex	26 (0.26)	-	2 (0.02)	5 (0.05)	-	1 (0.01)	7 (0.07)	-	-	6 (0.06)	-	-	47 (0.47)
Compound	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Exist. *there*	8 (0.08)	3 (0.03)	9 (0.09)	4 (0.04)	1 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	3 (0.03)	-	-	29 (0.29)
Clause	18 (0.18)	-	5 (0.05)	1 (0.01)	-	2 (0.02)	2 (0.02)	-	1 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	31 (0.31)
Other	2 (0.02)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.03)

As in the *LOB* corpus, string frequency also plays an important role in the selection between full forms and contractions, since those sequences which are more common favour the use of contractions to a greater extent. Thus, combinations of the verbs under analysis with simple pronominal subjects tend to show contracted forms more frequently than those with NP subjects, since the former are more numerous. In order to verify that this is so, I have selected two different sequences, one with a pronominal subject (*he is not*) and another with a NP as subject (*man is not*). I have recorded 26 instances with the former sequence *he is not* (cf. example (237a) below), out of which 13 (50%) are contracted (see examples (237b-c) below). By contrast, only four instances have been attested with the string *man is not*, none of them showing a contracted form, as example (238) shows.

(237) a. *"**He is not** even a man of his word!* (*FLOB* P10 146)

b. *Edwin can't bear takeaways, and he hates them even more when **he's not** eating them himself than when he is.* (*FLOB* L06 133-135)

c. *"So **he isn't** in touch with the L12 16 guys who did blow Hugh away."* (*FLOB* L12 15-16)

(238) *Plato's argument does by contrast need the premiss that, with the possible exception of Protagoras himself, everyone thinks that **man is not** the measure.* (*FLOB* J52 36-38)

3.4.3. The *Brown University Corpus of American English* (*BROWN*)

This section is devoted to the analysis of the three variants of negation at issue in AmE written texts belonging to the 1960s. As in the two previous sections, I shall firstly examine how contractions and uncontracted forms behave in the different

text-types and with the four different operators, and then I shall discuss the use of such forms as regards the type of subject.

As mentioned in Section 3.3 above, the *BROWN* corpus contains 1,614 examples of the variants under consideration, distributed as shown in the following figure:

Figure 16. UncN/OpeC/NotC in *BROWN*

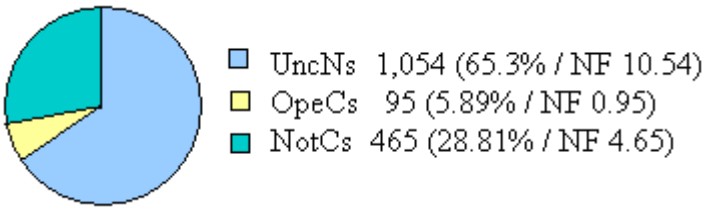


Figure 16 shows that, as in the case of the two BrE corpora already examined, UncNs are more numerous than contractions, while the number of NotCs is much higher than that of OpeCs. In Table 39 below the three variant forms are classified according to text-type. As can be seen, there is an overall preference for UncNs, not only in the most formal categories (from A to J) but also in two informal text-types: K (General fiction) and M (Science fiction), while in the remaining categories the balance is reversed in favour of contracted forms. Therefore, once again, text-type turns out to be a crucial variable in the selection of contracted and uncontracted negative variants. As regards the use of contractions, NotCs are favoured over OpeCs in all text-types, except in category M, where OpeC is the most frequent contracted form, and in category D, where both variants show an even distribution.

Table 39. Instances according to text-type in *BROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	71 (8.06)	7 (0.79)	19 (2.15)	97
CAT B	54,000	93 (17.22)	2 (0.37)	25 (4.62)	120
CAT C	34,000	32 (9.41)	4 (1.17)	9 (2.64)	45
CAT D	34,000	45 (13.23)	1 (0.29)	1 (0.29)	47
CAT E	72,000	52 (7.22)	4 (0.55)	22 (3.05)	78
CAT F	96,000	100 (10.41)	-	15 (1.56)	115
CAT G	150,000	199 (13.26)	4 (0.26)	28 (1.86)	231
CAT H	60,000	61 (10.16)	-	-	61
CAT J	160,000	227 (14.18)	1 (0.06)	4 (0.25)	232
CAT K	58,000	48 (8.27)	9 (1.55)	38 (6.55)	95
CAT L	48,000	20 (4.16)	18 (3.75)	96 (20)	134
CAT M	12,000	17 (14.16)	5 (4.16)	3 (2.5)	25
CAT N	58,000	26 (4.48)	12 (2.06)	85 (14.66)	123
CAT P	58,000	50 (8.62)	24 (4.13)	102 (17.59)	176
CAT R	18,000	13 (7.22)	4 (2.22)	18 (10)	35
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,054 (10.54)	95 (0.95)	465 (4.65)	1,614

The first of the four operators studied in detail is *be*. As Table 40 below shows, in the *BROWN* corpus, as was the case with *LOB* and *FLOB*, UncNs are more common than contractions with the *be*-operator, not only in the most formal categories (Cat A to Cat J), but also in a less formal text-type such as Humour (Cat R). However, the most significant feature of the operator *be* in the *BROWN* corpus concerns the distribution of the two contracted types. As can be seen, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all categories except D, L, M and P, where OpeCs are more numerous, and in C and R, where the number of examples of each type is alike. This overall predominance of NotCs over OpeCs with the

operator *be* in AmE texts from the 1960s contrasts with the results obtained in the preceding sections for the BrE corpora, and runs counter to the statements by Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among others, on the preference of *be* for OpeC in contemporary English (cf. Sections II.3.2.3.1. and II.4.1. above).

Table 40. Examples with the *be*-operator in *BROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	30 (3.4)	6 (0.68)	10 (1.13)	46
CAT B	54,000	55 (10.18)	2 (0.37)	8 (1.48)	65
CAT C	34,000	24 (7.05)	4 (1.17)	4 (1.17)	32
CAT D	34,000	34 (10)	1 (0.29)	-	35
CAT E	72,000	39 (5.41)	4 (0.55)	10 (1.38)	53
CAT F	96,000	58 (6.04)	-	4 (0.41)	62
CAT G	150,000	125 (8.33)	4 (0.26)	5 (0.33)	134
CAT H	60,000	46 (7.66)	-	-	46
CAT J	160,000	156 (9.75)	1 (0.06)	2 (0.12)	159
CAT K	58,000	6 (1.03)	6 (1.03)	7 (1.2)	19
CAT L	48,000	3 (0.62)	17 (3.54)	14 (2.91)	34
CAT M	12,000	3 (2.5)	5 (4.16)	3 (2.5)	11
CAT N	58,000	7 (1.2)	12 (2.06)	23 (3.96)	42
CAT P	58,000	13 (2.24)	23 (3.96)	19 (3.28)	55
CAT R	18,000	9 (5)	4 (2.22)	4 (2.22)	17
TOTAL	1,000,000	608 (6.08)	89 (0.89)	113 (1.13)	810

Consequently, in AmE from the 1960s, there is a preference for sentences like the one in (239b) rather than for that in (239a), in contrast to the state of affairs found in the two BrE corpora analysed so far (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above), where the latter type of contracted form is preferred.

(239) a. *It**'s not** a science as involved as determining what makes the earth rotate on its axis or building a rocket or putting a satellite into orbit but it is, nevertheless, a science.* (*BROWN* E08 0070-0100)

b. *It **isn't** what the ideologist believes in, but what he hates, that puts the world in jeopardy.* (*BROWN* R06 1670-1680)

The predominance of NotCs seen in Table 40 above also applies to the individual forms of the *be*-operator, with the exception of the first person singular, with which OpeCs are not only the most frequent contracted variant, but are likewise preferred to full forms (cf. Table 41 below).

Table 41. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *BROWN*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	2	3	-	10	1	4	18	2	6
CAT B	-	-	-	18	1	2	36	1	6
CAT C	1	-	-	4	-	1	19	4	3
CAT D	1	-	-	9	1	-	24	-	-
CAT E	-	-	-	23	1	4	16	3	6
CAT F	1	-	-	19	-	3	38	-	1
CAT G	9	1	-	24	1	2	92	2	3
CAT H	1	-	-	16	-	-	29	-	-
CAT J	2	-	-	45	-	2	109	1	-
CAT K	1	3	1	1	2	1	4	1	5
CAT L	-	8	3	1	2	4	2	7	7
CAT M	1	2	-	1	-	1	1	3	2
CAT N	-	4	5	1	2	5	6	6	14
CAT P	2	15	-	2	4	1	9	4	18
CAT R	2	2	-	1	2	1	6	-	3
TOTAL	**23**	**38**	**9**	**175**	**17**	**31**	**409**	**34**	**74**

As mentioned in Section II.4.1., such a preference for OpeCs in the first person singular is due to the lack of a corresponding standard form for NotC. The nine occurrences of NotCs for the first person singular of the operator *be* correspond to the form *ain't* (cf., for instance, example (164) in Section 3.4.1. above). Note that this example, together with (163) and (165) to (168), all of them belonging to the *BROWN* corpus, are clear cases of double negation, another feature of non-standard English. Moreover, the form *ain't* also corresponds in the corpus to both *isn't* (cf. examples (167) and (168)) and *aren't* (cf. example (163)). The total number of instances with the form *ain't* in AmE from the 1960s amounts to 30 (nine for *am not*, nine for *are not* and 12 for *is not*) and they are mainly found in the most informal categories (K, L, N, P and R). The relatively large number of examples of this kind recorded in *BROWN* contrast to the state of affairs found in the BrE corpora: only four instances in the *LOB* corpus and eight in *FLOB* (cf. Sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2. above, respectively). In view of this, it could be stated that in written AmE the form *ain't* is more common than in written BrE.

In contrast to the first person singular, full forms are clearly preferred with the *are not* and *is not* sequences, though this does not hold true for all types of text: the balance is reversed in the most informal categories (from K to R), where contractions are the predominant option.

Considering the distribution of full forms and negative contractions with the *be*-operator in relation to its function, that is, whether lexical or auxiliary, it can be said that no noticeable difference can be detected between AmE from the

1960s and its BrE counterpart from the same period (cf. Section 3.4.1. above). Thus, contractions are preferred with *be* functioning as an auxiliary (28.02%) to a greater extent than with *be* as a copula (23.88%), thus corroborating Quirk *et al*.'s (1985: 123) assertion that "there is some tendency for the contracted form to be more common when functioning as an auxiliary than as a main verb." The relevant data obtained from *BROWN* are given in the following Table:

Table 42. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *BROWN*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		459 (76.12%)	144 (23.88%)		603
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	39 (44.88%)	48 (55.17%)	58 (28.02%)	87
	Passive	110 (91.67%)	10 (8.33%)		120

As in the case of the two written BrE corpora, progressive *be* shows a much stronger tendency to select contracted forms than passive *be* (55.17% vs. 8.33%). Nevertheless, some differences are detected when dealing with the two contracted forms (cf. Table 43 below). On the one hand, auxiliary *be* favours the selection of OpeCs (40.97% lexical vs. 51.72% auxiliary), while the balance is reversed in the case of NotCs, which are more common with lexical *be* (59.03% vs. 48.28%). On the other hand, NotCs occur more frequently in passive constructions than in progressive VPs.

Table 43. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *BROWN*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		59 (40.97%)		85 (59.03%)		144
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	28 (58.33%)	30 (51.72%)	20 (41.67%)	28 (48.28%)	48
	Passive	2 (20%)		8 (80%)		10

Table 44 below displays the behaviour of the *have*-operator in the different text-types included in the *BROWN* corpus.

Table 44. Negative examples with the *have*-operator in *BROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	19 (2.15)	-	2 (0.22)	21
CAT B	54,000	10 (1.85)	-	6 (1.11)	16
CAT C	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	1 (0.29)	5
CAT D	34,000	8 (2.35)	-	-	8
CAT E	72,000	4 (0.55)	-	3 (0.41)	7
CAT F	96,000	22 (2.29)	-	3 (0.31)	25
CAT G	150,000	36 (2.4)	-	11 (0.73)	47
CAT H	60,000	3 (0.5)	-	-	3
CAT J	160,000	34 (2.12)	-	1 (0.06)	35
CAT K	58,000	21 (3.62)	-	17 (2.93)	38
CAT L	48,000	11 (2.29)	1 (0.2)	33 (6.87)	45
CAT M	12,000	7 (5.83)	-	-	7
CAT N	58,000	9 (1.55)	-	23 (3.96)	32
CAT P	58,000	17 (2.93)	1 (0.17)	38 (6.55)	56
CAT R	18,000	1 (0.55)	-	4 (2.22)	5
TOTAL	1,000,000	206 (2.06)	2 (0.02)	142 (1.42)	350

As shown here, once again, we witness a tendency to use UncNs with the operator *have*. As to the different text-types, contractions are preferred to UncNs only in a

number of fictional categories, namely Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L), Adventure and western fiction (Cat N), Romance and love story (Cat P) and Humour (Cat R). By contrast, in Religious texts (Cat D), Miscellaneous (Cat H) and Science fiction (Cat M) no contractions have been found. As regards the selection of the two types of contractions, NotCs (142 examples) are clearly far more numerous than OpeCs, which occur in just two instances, both of them of the form *'ve not*. These are given below as (240) and (241).

(240) *You**'ve not** seemed like them, but maybe you are.* (*BROWN* L01 043)
(241) *"You**'ve not** had your breakfast yet, gran'dad."* (*BROWN* P04 1380)

The statement that UncNs are more frequent than contractions with the *have*-operator holds true for its individual forms with the exception of *have not* (35 vs. 36 instances), as Table 45 below clearly shows. Such a preference for UncNs is particularly evident in the most formal text-types, while in most of the fictional categories the contracted negatives of *have not*, *has not* and *had not* prevail over their counterpart full forms. The exception here is, once more, Cat M (Science fiction), which contains UncNs exclusively.

Table 45. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *BROWN*

	Have not			***Has not***			***Had not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	4	-	-	12	-	-	3	-	2
CAT B	3	-	-	4	-	6	3	-	-
CAT C	-	-	1	3	-	-	1	-	-
CAT D	4	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-
CAT E	2	-	2	2	-	1	-	-	-
CAT F	4	-	2	11	-	1	7	-	-
CAT G	11	-	2	9	-	1	16	-	8
CAT H	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
CAT J	6	-	-	14	-	1	14	-	-
CAT K	-	-	3	-	-	2	21	-	12
CAT L	-	1	6	1	-	1	10	-	26
CAT M	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
CAT N	-	-	8	-	-	1	9	-	14
CAT P	-	1	10	-	-	3	17	-	25
CAT R	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	3
TOTAL	**35**	**2**	**34**	**60**	**-**	**18**	**111**	**-**	**90**

Four instances with the form *ain't* meaning *have not* have also been recorded. These are examples (165) and (166) above, which are also instances of double negation (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), repeated here as (242) and (243) for the sake of convenience, and (244) and (245) below.

(242) *He's got him in the kitchen." "Pedersen"? "No, Pa. It's the Pedersen kid. The kid." "Nothing to steal from the crib." "Not stealing, Pa. He was just lying there. Hans found him froze. That's where he was when Hans found him." Pa laughed. "I* ***ain't*** *hid* ***nothing*** *in the crib."* (*BROWN* K24 0370-0420)

(243) *"Damm you, Adams"- Jess was beginning to recover from his initial shock. "We* ***ain't*** *got* ***nothing*** *to talk about.* (*BROWN* N12 0730-0740)

(244) *"Stupid fools-* ***ain't*** *got enough brains between the two of you"- Grosse muttered, his head down, one hand playing with the zipper on his jacket.* (*BROWN* L03 0550-0570)

(245) *"Yes, George, but I* ***ain't*** *got poor old Pat's body yet.* (*BROWN* N26 0310-0320)

Notice also that in examples (243) to (245) the form *ain't* takes part in a sequence containing *got*. Eight additional instances of this kind with the operator *have* followed by *got* (six for *haven't*, one for *hasn't* and one for *hadn't*) have been identified in the *BROWN* corpus. Thus, the proportion of *have got* in *BROWN* (3.43%) is lower than the one obtained for the two BrE corpora already analysed (4.11% in *LOB* and 5.26% in *FLOB* (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. respectively)). Such a difference is probably related to the fact that in AmE the operator *have* functioning as a lexical verb apparently tends to be negated with the auxiliary *do*, rather than with the construction *have not got* (cf. Quirk *et al.* 1985: 131f and Section II.4.2. above). As a matter of fact, 53 examples with the auxiliary *do* (68.83%) have been identified, while *do*-less forms occur only on 24 occasions (31.17%). Thus, the preference for *do*-support in negative clauses with *have* as a lexical verb in AmE is confirmed by the *BROWN* data. Examples, like those in (247a-c) are therefore preferred to those in (246a-c) below.

(246) a. *"Plenty of people* ***haven't*** *our brains and talent."* (*BROWN* P02 1480-1490)

b. *And he* ***hasn't*** *even got a knife on him.* (*BROWN* F36 0570-0580)

c. *And when this was gone, he **hadn't** even a little bitter tablet to purify other water if he were to discover some stagnant jungle pool.* (*BROWN* N25 1660-1680)

(247) a. *And we **don't have** any money- we **don't have** a dime!* (*BROWN* P18 0790-0810)

b. *"Canada **doesn't have** much of this here juvenile delinquency problem, but we keep a night policeman all the same on account of the crazy tourists."* (*BROWN* L03 0090-0110)

c. *She **didn't have** the heart.* (*BROWN* N19 0360-119)

As in the previous corpora, the distribution between variants as regards the function of the operator *have* also proves revealing in the *BROWN* corpus. Lexical *have* favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than auxiliary *have* (66.67% vs. 39.26%). In this respect, the AmE data from the 1960s are similar to those of BrE (both from the 1960s and from the 1990s). However, it must be noted that the predominance of contractions with lexical *have* is restricted to the NotC variant, since no instances of OpeC have been recorded in *BROWN*.

The third operator studied in this corpus is *will*. As evinced by the data in Table 46 below, this operator shows an even distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms (95 vs. 94 instances respectively). There are three categories (H, J and M) where no contractions have been found, while in the informal text-types L and R all occurrences are of the NotC type. Furthermore, contractions are more common than UncNs in categories C, E, K, L and from N to R.

Table 46. Distribution of examples with the *will*-operator in *BROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	7 (0.79)	1 (0.11)	5 (0.56)	13
CAT B	54,000	15 (2.77)	-	8 (1.48)	23
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	3 (0.88)	5
CAT D	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	1 (0.29)	4
CAT E	72,000	7 (0.97)	-	9 (1.25)	16
CAT F	96,000	7 (0.72)	-	4 (0.41)	11
CAT G	150,000	17 (1.13)	-	3 (0.2)	20
CAT H	60,000	8 (1.33)	-	-	8
CAT J	160,000	18 (1.12)	-	-	18
CAT K	58,000	4 (0.68)	1 (0.17)	7 (1.2)	12
CAT L	48,000	-	-	17 (3.54)	17
CAT M	12,000	2 (1.66)	-	-	2
CAT N	58,000	3 (0.51)	-	15 (2.58)	18
CAT P	58,000	2 (0.34)	-	15 (2.58)	17
CAT R	18,000	-	-	5 (2.77)	5
TOTAL	1,000,000	95 (0.95)	2 (0.02)	92 (0.92)	189

As regards the two types of contracted forms, as in the two BrE corpora, we witness a clear predominance of NotCs over OpeCs in all text-types. The only two occurrences of OpeC with *will* in the *BROWN* corpus are given as (248) and (249) below.

(248) *We**'ll not** talk out of one side of our mouth in Morris County and out of the other side in Hudson.* (*BROWN* A06 1450-1470)

(249) *"Very well," she said, "I**'ll not** catechize you."* (*BROWN* K20 0950-0960)

In the case of *would*, UncNs are, once again, more frequent than contractions, as shown in Table 47 below. This statement holds true for all

categories except Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L), Adventure and western fiction (Cat N), Romance and love story (Cat P) and Humour (Cat R), where contracted forms, mainly NotCs, are preferred. Once more, OpeC represents a highly marked option, which is selected in only two occurrences, both of them recorded in example (250) below, which belongs to the fictional category K (General fiction).

(250) *Oh he'**d not** care about the Pedersen kid. He'**d not** care about getting waked so he could give up some of his whisky to a slit of a kid and maybe lose one of his hiding places in the bargain.* (*BROWN* K24 0070-0090)

Table 47. Examples with the *would*-operator in *BROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	2 (0.22)	17
CAT B	54,000	13 (2.4)	-	3 (0.55)	16
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	1 (0.29)	3
CAT D	34,000	-	-	-	-
CAT E	72,000	2 (0.27)	-	-	2
CAT F	96,000	13 (1.35)	-	4 (0.41)	17
CAT G	150,000	21 (1.4)	-	9 (0.6)	30
CAT H	60,000	4 (0.66)	-	-	4
CAT J	160,000	19 (1.18)	-	1 (0.06)	20
CAT K	58,000	17 (2.93)	2 (0.34)	7 (1.2)	26
CAT L	48,000	6 (1.25)	-	32 (6.67)	38
CAT M	12,000	5 (4.16)	-	-	5
CAT N	58,000	7 (1.2)	-	24 (4.13)	31
CAT P	58,000	18 (3.1)	-	30 (5.17)	48
CAT R	18,000	3 (1.66)	-	5 (2.77)	8
TOTAL	1,000,000	145 (1.45)	2 (0.02)	118 (1.18)	265

From the analysis of the four operators provided in the preceding pages, it can be concluded that UncNs are the preferred negative variant in AmE from the 1960s. However, the predominance of UncNs over contractions is not too conspicuous in the case of the verbs *have*, *will* or *would*, while it is very noticeable with the *be*-operator. As far as the selection of contractions is concerned, the four verbs behave similarly, since NotCs are preferred to OpeCs with all of them. In this respect, the *BROWN* corpus differs from the BrE corpora *LOB* and *FLOB*, where the operator *be* shows a tendency to select OpeCs to a greater extent than NotCs.

Finally, Table 48 below provides information on the use of the three variant negative forms under analysis according to the type of subject. As the data in this table evince, contracted and uncontracted forms in *BROWN* show different patterns of distribution depending on the nature of subject of the clause in which they occur. Thus, while simple pronominal subjects (by far the most frequent type) prefer contracted forms (mostly NotCs) with all operators except *be*, UncNs constitute the predominant alternative with more complex subject types (NPs or clausal subjects). In the case of existential *there* as subject, both *be* and *would* prefer contractions to UncNs; *will*, by contrast, favours UncNs, while *have* does not show a preference for any of the two variants. However, the low number of instances with *would*, *will* and *have* in this context does not allow me to reach definitive conclusions. As regards the variation between the two contracted types, NotCs are preferred with all operators and with all kinds of subjects, with the exception of simple pronouns with the verb *be*, where OpeCs prevail over NotCs.

Table 48. Distribution of negative forms according to type of subject and operator in *BROWN*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	266 (2.66)	82 (0.82)	66 (0.66)	108 (1.08)	2 (0.02)	107 (1.07)	44 (0.44)	2 (0.02)	73 (0.73)	72 (0.72)	2 (0.02)	96 (0.96)	920 (9.2)
Pronoun													
Complex	1 (0.01)	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	6 (0.06)
Simple	291 (2.91)	3 (0.03)	29 (0.29)	83 (0.83)	-	30 (0.3)	57 (0.57)	-	16 (0.16)	61 (0.61)	-	18 (0.18)	568 (5.68)
NP Complex	22 (0.22)	-	1 (0.01)	5 (0.05)	-	1 (0.01)	9 (0.09)	-	-	7 (0.07)	-	-	45 (0.45)
Compound	-	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Exist. *there*	14 (0.14)	4 (0.04)	14 (0.14)	3 (0.03)	-	3 (0.03)	2 (0.02)	-	1 (0.01)	2 (0.02)	-	4 (0.04)	47 (0. 47)
Clause	14 (0.14)	-	3 (0.03)	3 (0.03)	-	2 (0.02)	1 (0.01)	-	2 (0.02)	2 (0.02)	-	-	26 (0.26)

As in the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above), in the *BROWN* corpus string frequency turns out to be an important feature related to the type of subject. In order to analyse the relevance of this factor to the selection of contracted and uncontracted variants in *BROWN*, I have selected the same two sequences as in the other corpora: *he is not* and *man is not*. A total of 27 instances of the string *he is not* have been recorded, out of which eight (29.63%) show a contracted form. By contrast, neither of the two occurrences of *man is not* contains a contraction. Once again, these results seem to confirm that the most frequent sequences are also those which show a higher degree of contraction. Thus, examples such as (251b-c) are, in principle, more frequent than (251a), while more complex strings favour the use of full forms, as example (252) clearly shows.

(251) a. *Mr Stavropoulos is the UN legal chief and a very good man, but* ***he is not*** *fully versed on some technical points of American law."* (*BROWN* G36 1270-1290)

b. *But I've got news for Krim:* ***he's not*** *typical, he's pretty special.* (*BROWN* G74 0100)

c. *But he* ***isn't*** *with it, not at all with it.* (*BROWN* K07 0870-0880)

(252) ***Man is not*** *confined to one outlet for his vital energy.* (*BROWN* G13 0100-0110)

3.4.4. The *Freiburg Brown Corpus of American English* (*FROWN*)

As described in Section III.1. above, the *FROWN* corpus comprises AmE texts from the 1990s. It contains 1,837 examples of the three variants of negation, distributed as shown in Figure 17 below.

Figure 17. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *FROWN*

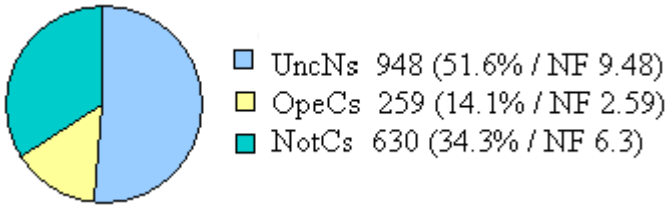


Figure 17 reveals that, as in the other written corpora analysed so far, the number of UncNs (948) is higher than the number of contractions (889), and NotCs (630) are more frequent than OpeCs (259). As can be observed, the frequency of uncontracted forms is somewhat higher than that of contractions (NF 9.48 for full forms vs. 8.89 for contractions), although the proportional difference is not so clearly marked as in the three other corpora already described. The analysis of individual text-types yields, however, interesting results (cf. Table 49 below). Thus, in this corpus UncNs predominate over contractions in the most formal categories (cf. Figure 9 above), namely Religion (Cat D), Popular lore (Cat F), Belle letters, biography and essays (Cat G), Miscellaneous (Cat H) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), while in the remaining categories contractions are the predominant variant. In this respect, the *FROWN* corpus differs from the previous three corpora, since here, the three Press categories (Cat A to C) together with Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) prefer contracted forms. As regards contractions, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in almost all texts-types. The only type of text for which this statement does not hold true is Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), probably due to the very low number of examples found (three instances of OpeC vs. two examples of NotCs).

Table 49. Full forms and contractions according to text-type in *FROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	87 (9.88)	37 (4.2)	76 (8.63)	200
CAT B	54,000	53 (9.81)	18 (3.33)	61 (11.29)	132
CAT C	34,000	20 (5.88)	8 (2.35)	14 (4.11)	42
CAT D	34,000	54 (15.88)	1 (0.29)	3 (0.88)	58
CAT E	72,000	46 (6.38)	24 (3.33)	43 (5.97)	113
CAT F	96,000	106 (11.04)	17 (1.77)	29 (3.02)	152
CAT G	150,000	150 (10)	7 (0.46)	29 (1.93)	186
CAT H	60,000	71 (11.83)	4 (0.66)	8 (1.33)	83
CAT J	160,000	200 (12.5)	3 (0.18)	2 (0.12)	205
CAT K	58,000	35 (6.03)	25 (4.31)	76 (13.1)	136
CAT L	48,000	37 (7.7)	24 (5)	70 (14.58)	131
CAT M	12,000	14 (11.66)	7 (5.83)	14 (11.66)	35
CAT N	58,000	37 (6.37)	30 (5.17)	70 (12.06)	137
CAT P	58,000	27 (4.65)	45 (7.75)	108 (18.62)	180
CAT R	18,000	11 (6.11)	9 (5)	27 (15)	47
TOTAL	1,000,000	948 (9.48)	259 (2.59)	630 (6.3)	1,837

As regards individual operators, the distribution of negative forms with *be* is given in Table 50 below. As seen here, UncN is the preferred option in Press editorial (Cat B), Religion (Cat D), Popular lore (Cat F), Belle lettres, biography and essays (Cat G), Miscellaneous (Cat H) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), due to obvious reasons of formality. Among these formal categories, Religion (Cat D) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J) stand out as showing the highest proportion of uncontracted forms (NF 13.52 vs. 0.58 and 9.56 vs. 0.24, respectively).

Table 50. Occurrences with the *be*-operator in *FROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	42 (4.77)	37 (4.2)	31 (3.52)	110
CAT B	54,000	40 (7.4)	18 (3.33)	18 (3.33)	76
CAT C	34,000	15 (4.41)	8 (2.35)	8 (2.35)	31
CAT D	34,000	46 (13.52)	1 (0.29)	1 (0.29)	48
CAT E	72,000	37 (5.13)	24 (3.33)	19 (2.63)	80
CAT F	96,000	71 (7.39)	17 (1.77)	12 (1.25)	100
CAT G	150,000	92 (6.13)	7 (0.46)	7 (0.46)	106
CAT H	60,000	48 (8)	4 (0.66)	2 (0.33)	54
CAT J	160,000	153 (9.56)	3 (0.18)	1 (0.06)	157
CAT K	58,000	14 (2.41)	24 (4.13)	14 (2.41)	52
CAT L	48,000	12 (2.5)	23 (4.79)	16 (3.33)	51
CAT M	12,000	5 (4.16)	7 (5.83)	3 (2.5)	15
CAT N	58,000	13 (2.24)	27 (4.65)	20 (3.44)	60
CAT P	58,000	14 (2.41)	45 (7.75)	19 (3.27)	78
CAT R	18,000	2 (1.11)	9 (5)	7 (3.88)	18
TOTAL	1,000,000	604 (6.04)	254 (2.54)	178 (1.78)	1,036

In the other categories, by contrast, contractions are preferred. As to the selection of one or the other contracted type, with the exception of Press editorial (Cat B), Press review (Cat C), Religion (Cat D) and Belle lettres, biography and essays (Cat G), where there is an even distribution of OpeCs and NotCs, the operator *be* shows a preference for the former type of contraction. This is specially evident in the fictional category Romance and love story (Cat P), where the ratio of OpeCs (NF 7.75) outnumbers that of NotCs (NF 3.27) and UncN (NF 2.41) together. In this respect, the data from the *FROWN* corpus clearly differ from those of its 1960s counterpart *BROWN*, where NotCs are more frequently selected than

OpeCs (cf. Section 3.4.3. above), and thus come closer to those of *LOB* and *FLOB* (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above, respectively).

When dealing with individual forms of *be* (cf. Table 51 below), the data in the *FROWN* corpus reveal that, as in the case of *LOB*, *FLOB* and *BROWN*, the sequences *are not* and *is not* favour the use of full forms over contractions (186 instances of UncNs vs. 102 of contractions with *are not*, and 391 examples of UncNs vs. 250 of contracted forms with *is not*), while contracted forms are preferred with the first person singular (27 occurrences of UncNs vs. 80 of the two contracted variants).

Table 51. Distribution of individual forms of the *be*-operator in *FROWN*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	1	7	-	12	8	11	29	22	20
CAT B	1	2	-	14	3	8	25	13	10
CAT C	-	1	-	5	1	3	10	6	5
CAT D	2	-	-	15	-	-	29	1	1
CAT E	-	4	-	16	5	7	21	15	12
CAT F	3	5	-	23	2	5	45	10	7
CAT G	4	1	-	24	2	1	64	4	6
CAT H	1	-	-	19	1	2	28	3	-
CAT J	4	-	-	44	1	-	105	2	1
CAT K	2	10	3	3	5	4	9	9	7
CAT L	-	8	1	1	5	3	11	10	12
CAT M	2	4	-	3	-	1	-	3	2
CAT N	3	10	3	2	6	6	8	11	11
CAT P	4	17	-	5	6	2	5	22	17
CAT R	-	3	1	-	2	2	2	4	4
TOTAL	**27**	**72**	**8**	**186**	**47**	**55**	**391**	**135**	**115**

Of these 80 occurrences of contracted forms for the first person singular of the *be*-operator, 72 examples correspond to OpeCs, which thus constitute the predominant contracted variant. OpeCs are favoured not only with the first person singular, but also with the form *is not* (135 instances of OpeCs vs. 115 of NotCs). In this respect, *FROWN* differs from the three other corpora examined so far (cf. Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.3. above), where the predominance of OpeCs over NotCs was only relevant to the first person singular. As expected, the eight instances of NotCs recorded for the potentially contractible sequence *am not* correspond to the form *ain't*, as in my earlier example (171) above (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), repeated here as (253) for the sake of convenience, and (254) to (260) below.

(253) *"By God, I **ain't** goin' nowhere!" Wiggins shouted.* (*FROWN* N03 51-52)

(254) *Anyway, I **ain't** so old I can't pick up a new habit.* (*FROWN* K05 190-191)

(255) *Mama said, "I **ain't** having one wild animal anywhere close to this house.* (*FROWN* K27 126-127)

(256) *I **ain't** going to get caught like poor Mrs. Noah on the ark."* (*FROWN* K27 127-128)

(257) *He smiled. "Really. We thought you just might be in some trouble." "I **ain't**," said the truckdriver.* (*FROWN* L17 204-206)

(258) *Something I **ain't** real fond of.* (*FROWN* N01 209-210)

(259) *When they come, Smoke, I **ain't** offerin' no quarter to none of them.* (*FROWN* N09 168-169)

(260) *"Well, he's asleep now, and I **ain't** waking him up.* (*FROWN* R04 79)

In this corpus, 44 instances with the form *ain't* (corresponding to both the *be*-operator, as in examples (169) to (171) in Section 3.4.1. above, and the *have*-

operator, as in (172) to (174)), have been recorded. Therefore, the number of instances with such a form is considerably higher in AmE from the 1990s than in its BrE counterpart (only nine examples in *FLOB*, cf. Section 3.4.2. above). It is also worth noting that there has been an increase in use of examples with *ain't*, referring to both *be* and *have*, from the 1960s to the 1990s (34 examples in *BROWN* vs. 44 in *FROWN*).

As seen in the preceding sections, the behaviour of the operator *be* functioning either as main verb or as an auxiliary for passive or progressive constructions deserves special consideration. As displayed in Table 52 below, I have recorded a total of 763 examples with the lexical verb *be*, out of which 321 (42.07%) are of the contracted variant, and 273 occurrences of *be* as an auxiliary for both progressive and passive constructions, out of which 111 (40.66%) are of the contracted type. Thus, contractions are more common with main verb *be* than with auxiliary *be*, as mentioned by Philips & Reynolds (1987) (cf. Section II.3.1.5 above). This pattern of distribution thus differs from the one obtained for the 1960s, both in *BROWN* and in *LOB*, where fused forms are more common with auxiliaries, but agrees with the data in *FLOB*, its BrE counterpart from the 1990s. As far as the distinction between *be* as an auxiliary for the progressive and for the passive is concerned, no noticeable distinction has been found between this corpus and the other of the *BROWN* family of corpora, since contracted forms are noticeably favoured in progressive constructions.

Table 52. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *FROWN*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		442 (57.93%)	321 (42.07%)		763
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	30 (26.32%)	84 (73.68%)	111 (40.66%)	114
	Passive	132 (83.02%)	27 (16.98%)		159

The distribution of contracted types varies according to the function of the verb. Thus, in *FROWN*, OpeCs are favoured with lexical *be*, and, especially with progressive *be*, while NotCs are the preferred contracted variant with *be* as a passive auxiliary (cf. Table 53 below).

Table 53. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *FROWN*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		192 (59.81%)		129 (40.19%)		321
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	50 (59.52%)	62 (55.86%)	34 (40.48%)	49 (44.14%)	84
	Passive	12 (44.44%)		15 (55.56%)		27

The data obtained for the operator *have* in the *FROWN* corpus are summarised in Table 54 below. The most immediate conclusion to be drawn from this table is the overall preference for contractions (NF 1.94) at the expense of UncNs (NF 1.58) with *have*. This is specially evident in the fictional categories K to P, although such a predominance is also found in categories A, C and E. By contrast, in categories D and J no contractions have been attested due to the formality of the texts belonging to these two genres.

Table 54. Examples with the *have*-operator in *FROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	21 (2.38)	36
CAT B	54,000	7 (1.29)	-	6 (1.11)	13
CAT C	34,000	1 (0.29)	-	2 (0.58)	3
CAT D	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	-	4
CAT E	72,000	4 (0.55)	-	10 (1.38)	14
CAT F	96,000	17 (1.77)	-	6 (0.62)	23
CAT G	150,000	28 (1.86)	-	11 (0.73)	39
CAT H	60,000	13 (2.16)	-	4 (0.66)	17
CAT J	160,000	20 (1.25)	-	-	20
CAT K	58,000	11 (1.89)	-	28 (4.82)	39
CAT L	48,000	18 (3.75)	1 (0.2)	27 (5.62)	46
CAT M	12,000	2 (1.66)	-	8 (6.66)	10
CAT N	58,000	9 (1.55)	1 (0.17)	22 (3.79)	32
CAT P	58,000	5 (0.86)	-	44 (7.58)	49
CAT R	18,000	4 (2.22)	-	3 (1.66)	7
TOTAL	1,000,000	158 (1.58)	2 (0.02)	192 (1.92)	352

Finally, in the case of category R (Humour), the unexpected predominance of UncNs over contractions may be due to the low number of examples recorded. As far as contractions are concerned, it is worth noting that only two instances of OpeCs with the *have*-operator have been found in the *FROWN* corpus, both of them occurring in fictional texts. These are given under (261) and (262) below.

(261) *She said quite distinctly, "I don't care what you intend to allow. **I've not** enough money for –"* (*FROWN* L18 133-134)

(262) *They**'d not** expected the prisoners to buy a drink in the Blue Elephant, but it sounded like a good excuse to go on back there and let things settle down.* (*FROWN* N04 144-146)

The selection of full forms and contractions is also conditioned by the individual forms of the *have*-operator (cf. Table 55 below).

Table 55. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *FROWN*

	Have not			***Has not***			***Had not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	5	-	7	7	-	8	3	-	6
CAT B	-	-	2	4	-	4	3	-	-
CAT C	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
CAT D	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
CAT E	1	-	5	1	-	4	2	-	1
CAT F	11	-	1	4	-	2	2	-	3
CAT G	8	-	-	4	-	-	16	-	11
CAT H	3	-	1	9	-	-	1	-	3
CAT J	10	-	-	5	-	-	5	-	-
CAT K	1	-	9	-	-	2	10	-	17
CAT L	2	1	6	3	-	-	13	-	21
CAT M	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	8
CAT N	1	-	9	1	-	2	7	1	11
CAT P	1	-	12	-	-	2	4	-	30
CAT R	-	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	2
TOTAL	**47**	**1**	**54**	**39**	**-**	**25**	**72**	**1**	**113**

Thus, while the *have* (47 for UncNs vs. 55 for contractions) and *had* forms (72 vs. 114) prefer contractions, the form *has* favours the use of full forms (39 for UncNs vs. 25 occurrences of the contracted type) (cf. Table 55 above).

As regards the distribution of full forms and contractions with *have* as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary for the perfect, no noticeable difference can be detected between the *FROWN* corpus and the three other written corpora analysed so far (cf. Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.3. above), since contracted forms are used to a

greater extent with lexical *have* than with *have* functioning as an auxiliary (95% vs. 52.71%). The state of affairs found in *FROWN* thus contrasts with what has been mentioned in some grammars (cf. Sinclair 1990: 453; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129). The same also holds true with the two contracted variants, OpeCs and NotCs being more common with lexical *have*.

In *FROWN* nine instances have been identified of the lexical verb *have* followed by *got* (2.55% out of the total of examples with *have*). Of these, five correspond to the form *ain't*,[72] two to the form *haven't*, as in (263) below, and two to the form *hasn't*, as in (264). It is worth noting that all the examples with *got* with the exception of (264), which is found in Popular lore (Cat F), are recorded in the fictional categories K (General fiction) and N (Adventure and western fiction).

(263) *Maybe you* ***haven't got*** *the right connections to be of much help to my people.* (*FROWN* N18 59-60)

(264) *The basic policy the United States had followed through the end of 1954, Dulles admitted, had been "pretty good," even if "it* ***hasn't got*** *us into war."* (*FROWN* F4617-19)

The low number of examples with *got* in this corpus serve, again, as confirmation that in AmE the lexical verb *have* tends to be negated with the operator *do* (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 131f and Section 3.4.3. above). In *FROWN* there have been identified 115 instances of *have* negated by means of *do*-support (85.19%) vs. 20 occurrences of lexical *have* without the dummy auxiliary (14.81%). Therefore, as

[72] Examples (172) and (173) in Section 3.4.1. above are together with (169) to (171) and (174), the only instances recorded in this corpus which show double negation.

in the *FLOB* and *BROWN* corpora (cf. Sections 3.4.2. and 3.4.3. above), the construction with the auxiliary *do* (cf. examples (266a-c) below) is, by far, the most frequent. Nevertheless, the proportional difference between the two alternative patterns of negation is higher in AmE from the 1990s than in its 1960s counterpart or in BrE from the 1990s, which indicates, the negation of *have* with the auxiliary *do* has increased over time, specially in AmE.

(265) a. *You **haven't** a home. You **haven't** any income left.* (*FROWN* P11 119-120)

b. *But that **hasn't** anything to do with you.* (*FROWN* P17 140)

c. *Evelyn Waugh, who **hadn't** an uninteresting sentence in him, wrote, in A Little Learning, a single, most disappointing volume of autobiography.* (*FROWN* G71 123-125)

(266) a. *"I **don't have** a problem with them."* (*FROWN* P07 79)

b. *Atlanta **doesn't have** a place where basic research can be translated for the public.* (*FROWN* C08 191-192)

c. *Each time I had a new assignment, I would have to break down this impression of me, and let the others know I was a regular guy, that I **didn't have** anything special going for me, that I worked hard and was a damn good police officer.* (*FROWN* G62 21-24)

One example which deserves further comment is (267) below. Here the form *ain't* corresponds to the operator *have* used as a lexical verb ('but we haven't a telegraph here'). Another instance of NotC appears in this example under the spelling *cain't*, which is a substandard form which stands for *can't*. In this example, which belongs to the informal category Adventure and western fiction (Cat N), the spelling *cain't* may represent a non-standard pronunciation of the form, probably influenced by the presence of *ain't* in the preceding context.

(267) *Shrugging, Pettigrew said, "I wasn't trying to be a hero. There's a reward." "Yup. I heered about that reward. What Mrs. Atkinson tells me is you surely earned it." "When can you hold this inquest?" "Not 'til mornin'. Wish we had a telegraph here. The sheriff's gone down to New Mexico Territory to eyeball a horse thief they arrested down there, and I wish I could telegraph 'im to get back up here. But we* ***ain't*** *and I* ***cain't****, so I'll do the best I know how."* (*FROWN* N08 152-156)

The third operator analysed in relation to text-type is *will* (cf. Table 56 below).

Table 56. Negative variants with the *will*-operator in *FROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	18 (2.04)	-	15 (1.7)	33
CAT B	54,000	3 (0.55)	-	30 (5.55)	33
CAT C	34,000	1 (0.29)	-	2 (0.58)	3
CAT D	34,000	1 (0.29)	-	2 (0.58)	3
CAT E	72,000	2 (0.27)	-	12 (1.66)	14
CAT F	96,000	10 (1.04)	-	5 (0.52)	15
CAT G	150,000	7 (0.46)	-	1 (0.06)	8
CAT H	60,000	7 (1.16)	-	2 (0.33)	9
CAT J	160,000	18 (1.12)	-	1 (0.06)	19
CAT K	58,000	5 (0.86)	-	17 (2.93)	22
CAT L	48,000	4 (0.83)	-	9 (1.87)	13
CAT M	12,000	3 (2.5)	-	2 (4.16)	5
CAT N	58,000	6 (1.03)	2 (0.34)	15 (2.58)	23
CAT P	58,000	2 (0.34)	-	18 (3.1)	20
CAT R	18,000	-	-	5 (2.77)	5
TOTAL	1,000,000	87 (0.87)	2 (0.02)	136 (1.36)	225

As can be seen in this table, the behaviour of *will* in the *FROWN* corpus does not differ substantially from that of the operator *have*, since contractions (1.38) also predominate over UncNs (0.87). Notice that, as with *have*, some press categories, (B and C), together with D (Religion) and E (Skills, trades and hobbies), come close to the informal categories in their predominance of contractions over UncNs.

As in the case of *have*, only two examples of OpeCs have been recorded in this corpus, both of them in Adventure and western fiction (Cat N). These are given under (268) and (269) below.

(268) *"You **'ll not** get away with this, Tom," a BS rider said.* (*FROWN* N02 3-4)

(269) *"We **'ll not** rest," said Cunningham, obviously quoting something or someone, "until the scourge of Mobius is lifted from the land.* (*FROWN* N20 82-84)

Turning now to the operator *would*, the distribution of the examples found in the *FROWN* corpus is given in Table 57 below. Once again, contractions predominate over UncNs (NF 0.99 for UncNs vs. 1.25 for contractions), especially in the informal set of text-types. However, this operator differs from *have* and *will* in that the number of formal categories which prefer contractions is lower, only Press editorial (Cat B). Moreover, as expected, the *would*-operator clearly favours the use of NotCs over OpeCs. Example (270) below is the only instance of the latter contracted type which has been recorded in *FROWN*.

(270) ***I'd not** sail around the world but say I did.* (*FROWN* K17 123-124)

Table 57. The operator *would* in *FROWN*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	12 (1.36)	-	9 (1.02)	21
CAT B	54,000	3 (0.55)	-	7 (1.29)	10
CAT C	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	2 (0.58)	5
CAT D	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	-	3
CAT E	72,000	3 (0.41)	-	2 (0.27)	5
CAT F	96,000	8 (0.83)	-	6 (0.62)	14
CAT G	150,000	23 (1.53)	-	10 (0.66)	33
CAT H	60,000	3 (0.5)	-	-	3
CAT J	160,000	9 (0.56)	-	-	9
CAT K	58,000	5 (0.86)	1 (0.17)	17 (2.93)	23
CAT L	48,000	3 (0.62)	-	18 (3.75)	21
CAT M	12,000	4 (3.33)	-	1 (0.83)	5
CAT N	58,000	9 (1.55)	-	13 (2.24)	22
CAT P	58,000	6 (1.03)	-	27 (4.65)	33
CAT R	18,000	5 (2.77)	-	12 (6.66)	17
TOTAL	1,000,000	99 (0.99)	1 (0.01)	124 (1.24)	224

The preference for contractions with the operators *have*, *will* and *would* in the *FROWN* corpus just discussed makes this corpus differ both diachronically from its AmE counterpart from the 1960s (cf. Section 3.6. below), as well as dialectally from the BrE corpora, since *LOB*, *FLOB* and *BROWN* favour the use of full forms with all operators.

The distribution of the examples found in the *FROWN* corpus according to the type of subject is given in Table 58 below.

Table 58. Distribution of negative forms according to type of subject and operator in *FROWN*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	240 (2.4)	236 (2.36)	76 (0.76)	68 (0.68)	2 (0.02)	156 (1.56)	53 (0.53)	2 (0.02)	101 (1.01)	57 (0.57)	1 (0.01)	89 (0.89)	1,081 (10.81)
Pronoun													
Complex	2 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Simple	322 (3.22)	13 (0.13)	82 (0.82)	79 (0.79)	-	30 (0.3)	27 (0.27)	-	30 (0.3)	34 (0.34)	-	31 (0.31)	632 (6.32)
NP Complex	15 (0.15)	-	4 (0.04)	6 (0.06)	-	1 (0.01)	6 (0.06)	-	2 (0.02)	4 (0.04)	-	-	38 (0.38)
Compound	2 (0.02)	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.04)
Exist. *there*	5 (0.05)	5 (0.05)	15 (0.15)	1 (0.01)	-	5 (0.05)	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	3 (0.03)	35 (0. 35)
Clause	17 (0.17)	-	1 (0.01)	2 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	3 (0.03)	3 (0.03)	-	1 (0.01)	27 (0.27)
Other	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)

As can be seen, the different behaviour of the three variant negative forms with respect to pronominal vs. non-pronominal subjects observed in the corpora already examined also holds true for the *FROWN* corpus: while NP subjects show a tendency to occur with uncontracted forms, pronominal subjects (by far the most frequent type) tend to correlate with contracted negatives. Once again, of the two contracted variants, the operator *be* prefers OpeCs with pronouns as subjects, in clear opposition to the other operators, as well as to the other types of subject, with which NotCs predominate. The data from the *FROWN* corpus also confirm the close relationship between existential *there* and contracted forms and that between clausal subjects and UncNs, at least for the verbs *be*, *have* and *would*.

In this corpus, as in the three other corpora considered above (cf. Sections 3.4.1 to 3.4.3.), the string frequency factor also plays an important role in the distribution of uncontracted and contracted variants, since those sequences which are more frequent are precisely the ones which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent. Thus, for instance, in the sequence *he had not* (41 examples) (cf. examples under (271) below), the *have*-operator tends to be contracted (12 examples with the full form *had not* vs. 29 with contractions), while with the sequence *the injustice had not* (two occurrences, none contracted, as shown in example (272) below), full forms predominate.

(271) a. *That* ***he had not*** *expected at all.* (*FROWN* M02 6)

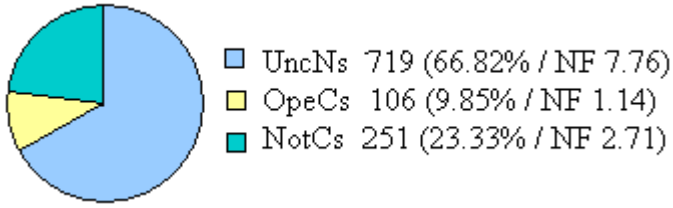
b. *For some reason,* ***he hadn't*** *been affected, or at least not yet.* (*FROWN* M06 28-29)

(272) *Why not make it now as though* ***the injustice had not*** *happened, for all that its occurrence in the past is immutable and undeniable.* (*FROWN* G22 161-163)

3.4.5. The *Australian Corpus of English* (*ACE*)

The *ACE* corpus contains 1,076 examples of the variant forms of negation under discussion, distributed as shown in Figure 18 below.

Figure 18. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *ACE*



As can be observed in this figure, written AusE is also characterised by a higher proportion of UncNs than of contractions and by a predominance of NotCs over OpeCs. Concerning the frequency of contractions and uncontracted forms in relation to the type of text, consider Table 59 below. As the data in this table reveal, in *ACE* UncNs predominate over contractions in all formal text-types from category A to category J, except in C, where contracted forms are more numerous. The preponderance of contractions also applies to all informal categories from K to R. In this respect, the data from AusE do not differ substantially from those of BrE and AmE given so far, since the categories which favour the use of full forms are, in general, those which are more formal. Moreover, of the two types of contracted forms, NotCs are preferred to OpeCs in all categories, except Miscellaneous (Cat H), where only one example of contraction (OpeC) occurs,

due to the high level of formality of this text-type, and Cat J (Learned and scientific writings), where OpeCs and NotCs are evenly distributed.

Table 59. UncNs and contractions according to text-type in *ACE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	108 (12.27)	11 (1.25)	36 (4.09)	155
CAT B	54,000	89 (16.48)	2 (0.37)	16 (2.96)	107
CAT C	34,000	19 (5.58)	10 (2.94)	16 (4.7)	45
CAT D	34,000	45 (13.23)	1 (0.29)	10 (2.94)	56
CAT E	76,000	50 (6.57)	3 (0.39)	19 (2.5)	72
CAT F	88,000	58 (6.59)	6 (0.68)	15 (1.7)	79
CAT G	154,000	118 (7.66)	19 (1.23)	34 (2.2)	171
CAT H	60,000	78 (13)	1 (0.16)	-	79
CAT J	160,000	99 (18)	6 (0.37)	6 (0.37)	111
CAT K	58,000	18 (3.1)	9 (1.55)	18 (3.1)	136
CAT L	30,000	9 (3)	13 (4.33)	33 (11)	45
CAT M	14,000	9 (6.42)	3 (2.14)	8 (5.71)	55
CAT N	16,000	3 (1.87)	4 (2.5)	6 (3.75)	21
CAT P	30,000	8 (2.66)	8 (2.66)	13 (4.33)	29
CAT R	30,000	8 (2.66)	10 (3.33)	21 (7)	39
TOTAL	926,000	719 (7.76)	106 (1.14)	251 (2.71)	1,076

Once the distribution of the three variant negative forms according to text-type has been analysed, it is time to see how they behave depending on the operator. As shown in Table 60 below, in AusE the *be*-operator also shows a strong preference for UncNs (NF 4.58) over contractions (NF 1.84) in written texts. As was the case with the general data in Table 59 above, from category A to category J, except in C, as well as in category M, UncNs prevail over contractions. Thus, once again, the informal text-type Science fiction (Cat M) is more closely related to the formal genre Learned and scientific writings (Cat J)

than to its sister fictional categories K, L, N, P and R, where contracted forms are preferred to UncNs. As regards the use of contractions, OpeCs (17.11%) are more numerous than NotCs (11.58%), both in the general count as well as in most text-types, the only exceptions being categories B, D and E.

Table 60. Examples with the *be*-operator in *ACE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	52 (5.9)	11 (1.25)	6 (0.68)	69
CAT B	54,000	49 (9.07)	2 (0.37)	6 (1.11)	57
CAT C	34,000	13 (3.82)	10 (2.94)	9 (2.64)	32
CAT D	34,000	36 (10.58)	1 (0.29)	4 (1.17)	41
CAT E	76,000	36 (4.73)	3 (0.39)	8 (1.05)	47
CAT F	88,000	33 (3.75)	6 (0.68)	5 (0.56)	44
CAT G	154,000	54 (3.5)	19 (1.23)	12 (0.77)	85
CAT H	60,000	51 (8.5)	1 (0.16)	-	52
CAT J	160,000	73 (4.56)	6 (0.37)	2 (0.12)	81
CAT K	58,000	10 (1.72)	8 (1.37)	7 (1.2)	25
CAT L	30,000	6 (2)	13 (4.33)	5 (1.66)	24
CAT M	14,000	4 (2.85)	3 (2.14)	-	7
CAT N	16,000	2 (1.25)	4 (2.5)	-	6
CAT P	30,000	2 (0.66)	5 (1.66)	1 (0.33)	8
CAT R	30,000	4 (1.33)	10 (3.33)	4 (1.33)	18
TOTAL	926,000	425 (4.58)	102 (1.1)	69 (0.74)	596

Considering the individual forms of the operator *be* (cf. Table 61 below), full forms outnumber contractions with *are not* (135 instances for UncNs vs. 38 for contractions) and *is not* (273 vs. 108), while contractions are preferred for the first person singular (17 for UncNs vs. 26 contracting). In this respect, the data for the individual forms of the operator *be* in the AusE corpus do not differ much from those obtained in both the BrE and AmE corpora (cf. Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.4.

above). However, as far as contractions are concerned, AusE is closer to AmE from the 1990s (cf. Table 45 in Section 3.4.4. above), since OpeCs are preferred to NotCs with the forms *am not*, for which no instances of NotCs have been recorded, and *is not* (60 occurrences under the form *'s not* vs. 47 instances of NotC under the forms *ain't* (three examples) and *isn't* (44 instances).

Table 61. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *ACE*

	Am not			*Are not*			*Is not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	-	3	-	19	-	3	33	8	3
CAT B	2	-	-	17	-	2	30	2	4
CAT C	1	2	-	-	3	3	12	5	6
CAT D	4	-	-	9	1	1	23	-	3
CAT E	-	-	-	14	-	5	22	3	3
CAT F	4	1	-	9	-	2	20	5	3
CAT G	1	6	-	15	3	-	38	10	12
CAT H	-	-	-	24	-	-	27	1	-
CAT J	-	1	-	21	1	-	52	4	2
CAT K	1	2	-	1	3	4	8	3	3
CAT L	3	4	-	3	2	-	-	7	5
CAT M	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	2	-
CAT N	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	-
CAT P	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	2	1
CAT R	-	1	-	2	3	2	2	6	2
TOTAL	**17**	**26**	**-**	**135**	**16**	**22**	**273**	**60**	**47**

Another difference between the AusE corpus and the four other corpora described in the preceding sections is the low number of occurrences of the form *ain't* recorded. The only three examples found, all of them in Cat L (Mystery and

detective fiction) and used by one and the same character, are (273) to (275) below.

(273) *"It **ain't** for the money," he said slowly.* (*ACE* L08)

(274) *"No, that **ain't** it either.* (*ACE* L08)

(275) *You know, that Bone, he's jus' a ignorant nigger, he **ain't** very bright, he's rode with half-weights.* (*ACE* L08)

These three instances are clearly related to informal style: the character is a black man who speaks a substandard variety of English. Another non-standard feature of the speech of this character is the use of multiple negation, as in example, (175) above repeated here for the sake of convenience as (276):

(276) *You know, that Bone, he's jus' a ignorant nigger, he **ain't** very bright, he's rode with half-weights.* (*ACE* L08)

As regards the selection of full and contracted forms with *be* as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary, the data from AusE are closely related to those obtained in the most recent corpora of written BrE and AmE (cf. Sections 3.4.2. and 3.4.4. above), where contractions with lexical verb *be* outnumber those found with auxiliary *be* (30.51% vs. 23.13%) and progressive constructions favour the use of fused forms to a greater extent than passives (45.1% vs. 11.46%) (cf. Table 62 below).

Table 62. Occurrences with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *ACE*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		312 (69.49%)	137 (30.51%)		449
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	28 (54.9%)	23 (45.1%)	34 (23.13%)	51
	Passive	85 (88.54	11 (11.46%)		96

The stronger preference for contractions with lexical *be* is also evinced for NotCs (41.61% vs. 35.29%), as show in Table 63 below. Another significant difference between the two contracted variants is the greater use of NotCs with passive *be* than with *be* functioning as an auxiliary for progressive, which prefers OpeCs.

Table 63. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *ACE*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		80 (58.39%)		57 (41.61%)		137
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	18 (78.26%)	22 (64.71%)	5 (21.74%)	12 (35.29%)	23
	Passive	4 (36.36%)		7 (63.64%)		11

The operator *have* also prefers UncNs to negate clauses in AusE. Besides, the number of NotCs is much higher than the number of OpeCs, as shown in Table 64 below. According to the data in this table, contractions constitute, once again, the preferred option in the less formal types of texts, i.e. from Cat K to Cat R, except in M, where the number of UncNs and contractions is identical. Moreover, as was the case in the other corpora analysed so far, OpeCs with *have* are very occasional in written AusE, since only two occurrences belonging to Cat P (Romance and love story) have been recorded (cf. examples (277) and (278) below).

(277) *"He**'s not** been right since the time he spent in a German prisoner-of-war camp."* (*ACE* P08)

(278) *It was a side to the timid girl I**'d not** seen before, though I reckon it was always there just waiting for enough fire to burst out.* (*ACE* P08)

Table 64. Negative forms with the *have*-operator in *ACE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	26 (2.95)	-	5 (0.56)	31
CAT B	54,000	16 (2.96)	-	3 (0.55)	29
CAT C	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	2 (0.58)	6
CAT D	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	2 (0.58)	6
CAT E	76,000	7 (0.92)	-	1 (0.13)	8
CAT F	88,000	12 (1.36)	-	5 (0.56)	17
CAT G	154,000	40 (2.59)	-	9 (0.58)	49
CAT H	60,000	16 (2.66)	-	-	16
CAT J	160,000	13 (0.81)	-	-	13
CAT K	58,000	4 (0.68)	-	5 (0.86)	9
CAT L	30,000	2 (0.66)	-	11 (3.66)	13
CAT M	14,000	2 (1.42)	-	2 (1.42)	4
CAT N	16,000	-	-	5 (3.12)	5
CAT P	30,000	2 (0.66)	2 (0.66)	4 (1.33)	8
CAT R	30,000	2 (0.66)	-	7 (2.33)	9
TOTAL	926,000	150 (1.61)	2 (0.02)	61 (0.65)	213

The overall predominance of full negatives mentioned above also applies to the individual forms of the *have*-operator, as Table 65 below shows. The forms *have not* (41 examples), *has not* (43 instances) and *had not* (66 occurrences) outnumber the forms *'ve not* (no examples) and *haven't* (28 instances), *'s not* (one example) and *hasn't* (six occurrences), and *'d not* (one example) and *hadn't* (27 instances), respectively. This is especially evident in a category like Belle lettres, memoirs and biographies (Cat G): ten UncNs vs. three NotCs with *have not*; eight UncNs vs. one NotC with *has not* and 22 vs. five with *had not*.

Table 65. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *ACE*

	Have not			*Has not*			*Had not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	6	-	3	7	-	1	13	-	1
CAT B	7	-	2	8	-	-	1	-	1
CAT C	1	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	1
CAT D	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-
CAT E	1	-	-	2	-	-	4	-	1
CAT F	3	-	2	5	-	1	4	-	2
CAT G	10	-	3	8	-	1	22	-	5
CAT H	6	-	-	8	-	-	2	-	-
CAT J	3	-	-	4	-	-	6	-	-
CAT K	-	-	2	-	-	1	4	-	2
CAT L	-	-	5	-	-	1	2	-	5
CAT M	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
CAT N	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
CAT P	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	1	2
CAT R	1	-	5	-	-	-	1	-	2
TOTAL	**41**	**-**	**28**	**43**	**1**	**6**	**66**	**1**	**27**

Another noticeable feature of the *have*-operator in the *ACE* corpus is the low number of instances in which it functions as a lexical verb, only 11 examples, which correspond to 5.16% out of the total forms with *have*. However, the proportion of contracted forms with lexical *have* is higher than with auxiliary *have* (45.45% vs. 28.71%), which contrasts with the assertions by Sinclair (1990: 453) and Kjellmer (1998: 164). Nevertheless, as far as the two types of contractions are concerned, only NotCs are favoured with main verb *have* (45.45% lexical vs. 27.72% auxiliary), while no example of OpeC has been found with such a form. In this respect, the data in the AusE corpus are closer to those obtained in *LOB*

and *BROWN* than to those from *FLOB* and *FROWN*. These 11 instances with lexical *have* being negated without a dummy auxiliary contrast with the high number of examples recorded with *do*-support, 75 instances (87.21% out of the total of relevant instances). Therefore, as in the case of the two AmE corpora analysed in the preceding sections (cf. Sections 3.4.3. and 3.4.4.) and in the BrE corpus from the 1990s (cf. Section 3.4.2. above), AusE seems to prefer the variant in (280a-c) to that shown in (279a-c). Interestingly enough, the proportional difference between these two kinds of negative forms with lexical *have* is higher in *ACE* than in *FLOB*, *BROWN* or *FROWN*.

(279) a. *The book evokes, vividly, the injustice, exploitation, cruel indifference suffered by the victims of a self-righteous property-class; it speaks on behalf of those who* ***have not*** *the means to alter their fate, and can look ahead to nothing but poverty, loneliness, neglect.* (*ACE* J67)

b. *In February 1930 in the New South Wales parliament Lang said that 'Every day thousands of men are being sacked by the Government ... The Premier* ***has not*** *a shilling to jingle on a tombstone.'* (*ACE* G11)

c. *I* ***had not*** *one but two homes, for events in my Aunt Baby's house were inseparable from my own.* (*ACE* G20)

(280) a. *Hence, while able to interpret and act on their behalf, parents* ***do not*** *have a basis for claiming absolute authority to decide what is best for them.* (*ACE* J50)

b. *Equally it* ***does not have*** *the power to oversee IEC's without State acquiescence because jurisdiction over medical practice and research is a State matter.* (*ACE* H08)

c. *The battles that the environment movement have fought in the past, such as Fraser Island, the NSW rainforests, Daintree, the Gordon-below-Franklin dam and the end of commercial whaling,*

> *all involved a hostile state government and/or industry which was fairly localised or which simply proposed a new development in an area where they* ***did not have*** *any existing investment or dependence.* (*ACE* G56)

In relation to the lexical verb *have*, also worth mentioning is the low number of instances recorded in which it is followed by *got*, only four examples: one under the full form *has not* (cf. example (281) below), two under the contracted form *haven't* (cf. examples (282) and (283)) and one under *hadn't* (cf. example (284)). Judging by the data in *ACE*, it can be said therefore that in AusE the form *have got* is not very commonly used, at least in negative clauses. In this respect, AusE differs from other varieties of English worldwide, such as AmE (cf. Sections 3.4.3. and 3.4.4. above) or, especially BrE (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above), where the proportion of this combination seems to be particularly high.

(281) *It is indeed fortunate that the Premier* ***has not got*** *the national power of using the army.* (*ACE* G61)

(282) *We* ***haven't got*** *all day!" urged our Leading Hand keen to clear our mess deck.* (*ACE* N03)

(283) *"But I* ***haven't got*** *any left."* (*ACE* R03)

(284) *Her mother, who was always hopeless at getting anywhere on time,* ***hadn't got*** *through even half her Royal Chesseburger before Candice, always on time if not ahead of it, arrived.* (*ACE* L12)

In contrast to the state of affairs just described for *have*, contracted and uncontracted forms with the operator *will* show an even distribution in *ACE* (cf. Table 66 below). The data in this table yield interesting results. On the one hand, UncNs and NotCs turn out to be the only productive alternatives with *will* in

AusE, since one single example of OpeC has been found, in Romance and love story (Cat P) (cf. example (285) below).

(285) *"I've no credentials and no formal training," I said, "but I'm honest and you'**ll not** find a harder worker because that's always been my way."* (*ACE* P08)

Table 66. Negative variants with the *will*-operator in *ACE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	11 (1.25)	-	11 (1.25)	22
CAT B	54,000	12 (2.22)	-	4 (0.74)	16
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	3 (0.88)	5
CAT D	34,000	4 (1.17)	-	1 (0.29)	5
CAT E	76,000	5 (0.65)	-	8 (1.05)	13
CAT F	88,000	3 (0.34)	-	3 (0.34)	6
CAT G	154,000	11 (0.71)	-	7 (0.45)	18
CAT H	60,000	5 (0.83)	-	-	5
CAT J	160,000	7 (0.43)	-	2 (0.12)	9
CAT K	58,000	1 (0.17)	-	3 (0.51)	4
CAT L	30,000	1 (0.33)	-	10 (3.33)	11
CAT M	14,000	1 (0.71)	-	5 (3.57)	6
CAT N	16,000	-	-	-	-
CAT P	30,000	1 (0.33)	1 (0.33)	3 (1)	5
CAT R	30,000	-	-	4 (1.33)	4
TOTAL	926,000	64 (0.69)	1 (0.01)	64 (0.69)	129

On the other hand, the correlations formal text-type – uncontracted negative and less formal text-type – contracted forms do not seem to be so clear in the case of *will* as with the other operators. Thus, some rather formal types of text, such as Cat C (Press review)[73] or Cat E (Skills, trades and hobbies) show more NotCs

[73] In Cat C contractions also outnumber uncontracted forms with the *be*-operator.

than UncNs. It must be borne in mind, however, that the low number of examples recorded in some categories do not warrant definitive conclusions in this respect.

The last operator studied is *would* (cf. Table 67 below). In the *ACE* corpus, this operator, like *be* and *have*, prefers UncNs (0.86) to contractions (0.62), although the proportional difference between full forms and contractions is not so high as for *be* or *have*.

Table 67. Examples with the *would*-operator in *ACE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	19 (2.15)	-	14 (1.59)	33
CAT B	54,000	12 (2.22)	-	3 (0.55)	15
CAT C	34,000	-	-	2 (0.58)	2
CAT D	34,000	1 (0.29)	-	3 (0.88)	4
CAT E	76,000	2 (0.26)	-	2 (0.26)	4
CAT F	88,000	10 (1.13)	-	2 (0.22)	12
CAT G	154,000	13 (0.84)	-	6 (0.38)	19
CAT H	60,000	6 (1)	-	-	6
CAT J	160,000	6 (0.37)	-	2 (0.12)	8
CAT K	58,000	3 (0.51)	1 (0.17)	3 (0.51)	7
CAT L	30,000	-	-	7 (2.33)	7
CAT M	14,000	2 (1.42)	-	1 (0.71)	3
CAT N	16,000	1 (0.62)	-	1 (0.62)	2
CAT P	30,000	3 (1)	-	5 (1.66)	8
CAT R	30,000	2 (0.66)	-	6 (2)	8
TOTAL	926,000	80 (0.86)	1 (0.01)	57 (0.61)	138

Moreover, the OpeC alternative with *would* in AusE occurs only once in a fictional category (General fiction, Cat K) (cf. example (286) below).

(286) *History had been a bad dream and now that they were awake they**'d not** mention it - even though everyone had the identical dream, even though there were still bodies waiting to be discovered, bombs that would explode as Kurt and his friends clambered amongst the ruins.* (*ACE* K27)

As regards individual types of text, *would* favours the use of UncNs in most formal categories, such as A, B, F, G, H and J, as well as in the fictional category M (Science fiction), which, as mentioned above, tends to come closer to the formal text-types. In the remaining categories NotCs seem to be preferred, except for E (Skills, trades and hobbies) and N (Adventure and western fiction), where the proportion of variants is alike.

To sum up, it can be said that the *be*, *have* and *would* operators behave similarly as regards the distribution of full forms and contractions, since the former type is the preferred option with the three verbs. By contrast, with the *will*-operator the uncontracted and contracted variants are evenly distributed.

Concerning the influence of the type of subject on the selection of contracted and uncontracted forms, consider the data in Table 68 below.

Table 68. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in *ACE*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	173 (1.87)	95 (1.03)	35 (0.38)	65 (0.7)	2 (0.02)	47 (0.51)	24 (0.26)	1 (0.01)	44 (0.47)	31 (0.33)	1 (0.01)	48 (0.52)	566 (6.11)
Pronoun													
Complex	2 (0.02)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	4 (0.04)
Simple	204 (2.2)	-	24 (0.26)	72 (0.78)	-	12 (0.13)	32 (0.35)	-	17 (0.18)	39 (0.42)	-	9 (0.1)	409 (4.41)
NP Complex	22 (0.24)	-	1 (0.01)	9 (0.1)	-	1 (0.01)	5 (0.05)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	39 (0.42)
Compound	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)
Exist. *there*	5 (0.05)	7 (0.07)	4 (0.04)	3 (0.03)	-	1 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	3 (0.03)	-	-	25 (0. 27)
Clause	19 (0.2)	-	4 (0.04)	-	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	2 (0.02)	5 (0.05)	-	-	32 (0.35)

The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this table is that all operators prefer the use of UncNs with NP subjects. With pronominal subjects, *be* and *have* prefer UncNs, while *will* and *would* favour contractions. When the subject is existential *there*, in turn, the choice of variants also depends on the operator, since contractions are preferred with *be*, while UncNs are favoured with *have* and *would*. Finally, clausal subjects tend to select uncontracted forms, especially with *be*, the only operator for which I have recorded a representative number of examples.

Moreover, the *ACE* corpus provides further proof of the relevance of string frequency to the selection of contracted and uncontracted negative variants, since the most frequent sequences are those which contract to a greater extent. Thus, for instance, the potentially contractible string *he is not* (cf. examples under (287) below) appears in this corpus 15 times, out of which seven are contracted (46.67%). By contrast, the sequence *the Committee is not* (cf. example (288) below) appears only twice, with no evidence of contraction. In this respect, there is no noticeable difference between AusE and the other dialects studied so far (cf. Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.4. above).

(287) a. *"The writer who possesses the creative gift owns something," we are told, "of which* ***he is not*** *always master."* (*ACE* J67)

b. ***He's not*** *merely a producer he's a creator, keyed up in every nerve to bring something living out of a void ...* (*ACE* G18)

c. *But* ***he isn't*** *the only big sports name in the show.* (*ACE* C16c)

(288) ***The Committee is not*** *in a position to express a view of what are adequate privacy safeguards as that would be better done by*

experts in that area, but at least the committee felt that the minimum safeguards would be. (*ACE* J46)

Two examples from the *ACE* corpus merit further comment. These are given as (289) and (290) below.

(289) *His odd jocularity that the chicken feet are like ET's hands* ***are not*** *taken askance by the Chinese staff, although they may have no idea what he is on about.* (*ACE* A27)

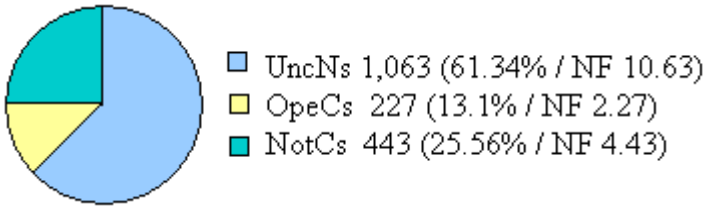
(290) *The velocity expressions used within equation 6.1* ***is not*** *obtained from either of equations 6.7 or 6.8. Rather, we use the centre point, &symbol; as the point of reference giving &formula; 6.10 Substituting equations 6.9 and 6.10 into equation 6.1 we obtain the following recurrence relation &formula; 6.11.* (*ACE* J18)

In example (289) the subject of *are not* is *His odd jocularity that the chicken feet are like ET's hands*. The subject is, therefore, a third person singular, since the head of the NP is the noun *jocularity*. In view of this, the operator should also be inflected for the singular, that is, *is not* rather than *are not*. Therefore, in this example there is lack of agreement between the subject and the operator. The fact that the operator occurs in the plural may be due to the proximity of the plural noun *hands*. A similar case of lack of concord is found in example (290), where the subject of *is not* is a third person plural, *the velocity expressions used within equation 6.1*, whose head is *expressions*. Thus, the operator should also be inflected for the plural, that is, *are not* rather than the singular *is not*. Once again, a likely explanation for this lack of agreement is the influence of the singular noun *equation*.

3. 4. 6. The *Wellington Written Corpus* (*WWC*)

As seen in Section 3.3. above, the *WWC* corpus contains 1,733 negative occurrences of the constructions at issue, which corresponds to 9.09% of the total of examples analysed in the present piece of research. These 1,733 examples are distributed in the following way:

Figure 19. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *WWC*



As can be seen, once again, UncNs markedly predominate over contracted forms in written NzE, and, as regards contractions, there is a clear preference for NotCs. Concerning text-type, the distribution of these 1,733 examples is given in Table 69 below.

Table 69. Tokens according to text-type in *WWC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	115 (13.06)	24 (2.72)	34 (3.86)	173
CAT B	54,000	105 (19.44)	15 (2.77)	20 (3.7)	140
CAT C	34,000	29 (8.52)	4 (1.17)	13 (3.82)	46
CAT D	34,000	44 (12.94)	1 (0.29)	6 (1.76)	51
CAT E	76,000	68 (8.94)	3 (0.39)	23 (3.02)	94
CAT F	88,000	106 (12.04)	9 (1.02)	27 (3.06)	142
CAT G	154,000	169 (10.97)	26 (1.68)	32 (2.07)	227
CAT H	60,000	85 (14.16)	-	-	85
CAT J	160,000	200 (12.5)	1 (0.06)	4 (0.25)	205
CAT K	252,000	142 (5.63)	144 (5.71)	284 (11.26)	570
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,063 (10.63)	227 (2.27)	443 (4.43)	1,733

These data evince that the *WWC* corpus shows an overall preference for UncNs in all categories with the exception of category K (Fiction), where contractions clearly predominate over uncontracted forms (NF 5.63 vs. 16.97). The fact that in category K contractions are far more commonly used than their uncontracted counterparts is undoubtedly related to the degree of formality of the texts included, since K is the most informal category in the corpus and the one most closely related to the spoken language. In highly formal categories, by contrast, contracted forms do not occur at all, as in H (Miscellaneous), or are practically non-existent, as in J (Learned and scientific writings) (NF for UncNs 12.5 vs. NF 0.31 for contractions). Another important feature shown in Table 59 above is that NotCs are preferred to OpeCs in all categories, thus confirming the general trend for contracted types in *WWC* given above. Nevertheless, the proportional difference between NotCs and OpeCs is higher in the informal text-type (5.55) than in the most formal categories A to J, where it fluctuates between 0.19 in category J and 2.65 in category C.

The following paragraphs will be devoted to the distribution of the variants under study in relation to the type of operator used. The first operator analysed is *be*. As can be seen in Table 70 below, the operator *be* shows an overall preference for UncNs (NF 6.33 vs. 3.06). However, as expected, not all text-types behave in the same way, since category K (Fiction) contains a larger proportion of contractions (NF 2.46 for UncNs vs. 7.41 for contractions), undoubtedly related, as mentioned above, to the lower degree of formality of the texts included. As regards contractions, in NzE, the *be*-operator prefers OpeCs to NotCs (NF 2.17 vs.

0.89), thus behaving in the same way as in *LOB* (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), *FLOB* (cf. Section 3.4.2. above), *FROWN* (cf. Section 3.4.4. above) and *ACE* (cf. Section 3.4.5. above). Nevertheless, this statement only holds true for the following categories: A (Press reportage), B (Press editorial), C (Press review), G (Belle lettres, memoirs and biographies) and K (Fiction).

Table 70. Occurrences with the *be*-operator in *WWC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	51 (5.79)	23 (2.95)	10 (1.13)	84
CAT B	54,000	70 (12.96)	15 (2.77)	3 (0.55)	88
CAT C	34,000	21 (6.17)	4 (1.17)	3 (0.88)	28
CAT D	34,000	33 (9.7)	1 (0.29)	2 (0.58)	36
CAT E	76,000	47 (6.18)	3 (0.39)	3 (0.39)	53
CAT F	88,000	74 (8.4)	9 (1.02)	11 (1.25)	94
CAT G	154,000	89 (5.77)	24 (1.55)	5 (0.32)	118
CAT H	60,000	50 (8.33)	-	-	50
CAT J	160,000	136 (8.5)	1 (0.06)	2 (0.12)	139
CAT K	252,000	62 (2.46)	137 (5.43)	50 (1.98)	249
TOTAL	1,000,000	633 (6.33)	217 (2.17)	89 (0.89)	939

As far as individual forms of the verb are concerned (cf. Table 71 below), the overall predominance of full forms over contractions is also evident for the patterns *are not* (206 for UncNs vs. 73 for contracted forms: 48 OpeCs and 25 NotCs) and *is not* (409 for UncNs vs. 178 (115 OpeCs and 63 NotCs) for contracted forms). For the first person singular, by contrast, contractions are preferred (18 for UncNs vs. 55 for contracted forms). The vast majority of these contractions (54 examples in all) are of the OpeC type, while only one occurrence of NotC, under the form *ain't* (cf. example (291) below) has been found.

(291) *"I don't know what's in store for me when I get home and I* ***ain't*** *too much worried about it either," said Mr Couch.* (*WWC* A11 051-052)

Table 71. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *WWC*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	2	2	1	16	6	-	33	15	9
CAT B	-	2	-	25	3	1	45	10	2
CAT C	-	-	-	8	1	2	13	3	1
CAT D	-	-	-	17	-	-	16	1	2
CAT E	-	-	-	8	-	-	39	3	3
CAT F	1	3	-	29	1	4	44	5	7
CAT G	4	5	-	22	7	1	63	12	4
CAT H	-	-	-	18	-	-	32	-	-
CAT J	2	1	-	50	-	-	84	-	2
CAT K	9	41	-	13	30	17	40	66	33
TOTAL	**18**	**54**	**1**	**206**	**48**	**25**	**409**	**115**	**63**

Ain't is also used in *WWC* as a contraction for *is not* (one example, given as (292) below) and *has not* (one example, (293) below), both occurrences recorded in the fictional text-type General fiction (Cat K). In this respect, NzE behaves similarly to *ACE*, (cf. examples (274-276) in Section 3.4.5. above) or *LOB*, since in the three corpora the number of instances with *ain't* is very low.

(292) *It* ***ain't*** *for long.* (*WWC* K28 140)

(293) *See, Jah say that the big one don't know how to fight, that he* ***ain't*** *got no killer instinct, and the little one does.* (*WWC* K61 083-084)

The distribution of the variants in the *WWC* corpus, as regards the distinction lexical *be* vs. auxiliary *be* is clearly related to that attested in the most recent written corpora (*FLOB*, *FROWN* and *ACE*), since contractions are more numerous with copula *be* than with auxiliary *be* (32.9% vs. 23.13%), and, as in all the written corpora analysed in the present piece of research, in progressive sentences (55.91%) than in passives (17.95%), as seen in the following Table:

Table 72. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *WWC*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		463 (67.1%)	227 (32.9%)		690
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	41 (44.09%)	52 (55.91%)	80 (23.13%)	93
	Passive	128 (82.05%)	28 (17.95%)		156

As in the other written corpora (cf. Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.5. above), NotCs are more common with lexical *be* (30.4% vs. 26.25%), while OpeCs predominate with auxiliary *be* (69.6% vs. 73.75%) (cf. Table 73 below). Moreover, NotCs are, once again, more closely associated with passive constructions, while OpeCs are more frequent with progressives.

Table 73. Contracted forms with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *WWC*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		158 (69.6%)		69 (30.4%)		227
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	42 (80.77%)	59 (73.75%)	10 (19.23%)	21 (26.25%)	52
	Passive	17 (60.71%)		11 (39.29%)		28

Table 74 below shows how the *have*-operator behaves in this corpus as far as text-type is concerned. The aforementioned preference for uncontracted forms

is also evident with the verb *have*, although the difference between contractions and UncNs is not so conspicuous as with *be*. However, in Press review (Cat C) and in Fiction (Cat K), contracted forms outnumber uncontracted ones, and in Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) the number of contractions and UncNs is alike. In turn, when dealing with the two contracted types, my expectations are confirmed, since NotCs are preferred to OpeCs with the *have*-operator in all categories of the *WWC*.

Table 74. Examples with the *have*-operator in *WWC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	27 (3.06)	1 (0.11)	9 (1.02)	37
CAT B	54,000	15 (2.77)	-	5 (0.92)	20
CAT C	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	4 (1.17)	7
CAT D	34,000	7 (2.05)	-	1 (0.29)	8
CAT E	76,000	7 (0.92)	-	7 (0.92)	14
CAT F	88,000	15 (1.7)	-	10 (1.13)	25
CAT G	154,000	38 (2.46)	1 (0.06)	10 (0.64)	49
CAT H	60,000	20 (3.33)	-	-	20
CAT J	160,000	35 (2.18)	-	1 (0.06)	36
CAT K	252,000	46 (1.82)	3 (0.11)	105 (4.16)	154
TOTAL	1,000,000	213 (2.13)	5 (0.05)	152 (1.52)	370

In fact, OpeCs with *have* are poorly represented in this corpus (only five examples), one isolated instance in categories A and G (cf. examples (294) and (295) below, respectively) and three in fiction (Cat K), examples (296) to (298).

(294) *"I make a point not to declare myself an expert if* ***I've not*** *been in a country more than 24 hours."* (*WWC* A14 048-049)

(295) ***I've not*** *seen that report, but I'll warrant a substantial part of it relies on oil price forecasts which, with the replacement of Sheik*

Yamani as oil minister for Saudi Arabia in the same week, will now make no sense at all. (*WWC* G65 006-009)

(296) *Here I am with all the people the Maureen disapproves of and doing all the things she disapproves but I **'ve not** liked all the people she's approved of in or out of the family and the same with the things.* (*WWC* K84 110-113)

(297) *I **'ve not** been inside one of them before.* (*WWC* K97 205-206)

(298) *He **'d not** moved.* (*WWC* K53 055)

The analysis of the individual forms of the operator *have* reveals that for the contractible sequence *have not* the frequency of contractions is higher than that of full forms (45 occurrences of UncNs vs. 54 of the contracted variants), while fused forms predominate with *has not* (63 instances of UncNs vs. 32 of the contractions) and *had not* (105 examples of UncNs vs. 71 of contractions), as Table 75 clearly shows.

The assertions mentioned in the literature about the higher frequency of contractions with the auxiliary *have* than with the lexical verb *have* (cf. Sinclair 1990: 453; Biber 1999:1129, cf. Section II.4.2. above) do not entirely coincide with the data found in written NzE, since contractions are more likely to occur with lexical *have* (90.91% vs. 39.37%). However, when dealing with NotCs, the proportion of instances with lexical *have* is very high (90.91%).

Table 75. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *WWC*

	Have not			*Has not*			*Had not*		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
CAT A	5	1	5	5	-	3	17	-	1
CAT B	4	-	2	5	-	3	6	-	-
CAT C	1	-	3	1	-	1	1	-	-
CAT D	3	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	-
CAT E	3	-	3	4	-	2	-	-	2
CAT F	2	-	6	5	-	1	8	-	3
CAT G	7	1	4	9	-	2	22	-	4
CAT H	4	-	-	11	-	-	5	-	-
CAT J	14	-	-	12	-	1	9	-	-
CAT K	2	2	26	10	-	19	34	1	60
TOTAL	**45**	**4**	**50**	**63**	**-**	**32**	**105**	**1**	**70**

As far as the operator *have* functioning as a lexical verb is concerned, it can be said that, as in the preceding corpora with the exception of the *LOB* (cf. Sections 3.4.2. to 3.4.5. above), in *WWC*, there is a clear preference for negation with *do*-support (75 instances; 77.32%), as in examples (300a-c), rather than with the verb *have* followed by *not* (22 examples; 22.68%), as in examples (299a-c). In this respect my data from written NzE confirm the assertions by Bauer (1994: 400) and Hundt (1998). It is also significant that the proportional difference between the two patterns of negation in written NzE is not so high as in the *ACE* or *FROWN* corpora, but is somewhat higher than in the *BROWN* and *FLOB* corpora.

(299) a. *Those of us who **haven't** much faith in public education might like to consider that the only way the decline can have happened, if it's indeed real, is due to an increased perception by many people*

of the dangers to children of burning, and these people have carried out effective measures to minimise the dangers. (*WWC* A42 082-087)

b. *If the public doesn't watch he **hasn't** a job.* (*WWC* E30 207-208)

c. *His visit convinced him that he **had not** the qualifications for such an office, and that 'it will be a most difficult task to find a person who does possess them.'* (*WWC* G30 131-134)

(300) a. *Because they are often with their charges 24 hours a day, they **don't have** the time — or energy — to organise meetings, set up support groups or shout their cause to the public.* (*WWC* A39 117-119)

b. *She **doesn't have** a lot to write about, so she writes of her memories, and how happy she was when last they were together.* (*WWC* K53 115-117)

c. *This is a habit that dates back to the days when computer displays and printers **did not have** lower-case letters because of the extra cost involved.* (*WWC* G61 106-109)

As in the other written corpora, *have* is sometimes accompanied by *got* in written NzE, as in examples (293) above or (301) below. It is worth noting that all the examples recorded in the *WWC* corpus of the combination *have got* are of the NotC type. The NF per 10,000 words of the construction with *got* is 0.17, similar to that found for the BrE data in *LOB* (cf. Section 3.4.1. above).

(301) *As is so often the case when you weigh up the pros and cons of a project and you keep telling yourself you **haven't got** the time to get involved and how it's going to have a negative effect on everything else you are doing, niggling away at you is the prospect of the excitement and challenge that you could be part of.* (*WWC* G13 031-036)

The distribution of the negative forms with the operator *will* is provided in Table 76 below. As seen here, the results obtained for *will* do not differ substantially from the general data given above for this corpus (cf. Table 69), since UncNs are also the preferred option (NF 1.07 vs. 0.96). However, when dealing with the type of text, in categories C (Press review) and K (Fiction), contractions outnumber uncontracted forms, as seen above for the *have*-operator.

Table 76. Negative tokens with the *will*-operator in *WWC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	18 (2.04)	-	7 (0.79)	25
CAT B	54,000	12 (2.22)	-	7 (1.29)	19
CAT C	34,000	2 (0.58)	-	3 (0.88)	5
CAT D	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	2 (0.58)	5
CAT E	76,000	12 (1.57)	-	5 (0.65)	17
CAT F	88,000	7 (0.79)	-	2 (0.22)	9
CAT G	154,000	19 (1.23)	1 (0.06)	6 (0.38)	26
CAT H	60,000	7 (1.16)	-	-	7
CAT J	160,000	16 (1)	-	1 (0.06)	17
CAT K	252,000	11 (0.43)	2 (0.07)	60 (2.38)	73
TOTAL	1,000,000	107 (1.07)	3 (0.03)	93 (0.93)	203

As regards contractions, the operator *will* favours the use of NotCs over OpeCs in all text-categories. The latter type of contraction has been identified in just three examples, one in Belle letters, memoirs and biographies (Cat G) and two in Fiction (Cat K). These examples are given as (302) to (304) below.

(302) *"That**'ll not** help your arthritis," said the forthright Miss Buchanan, who fetched a disused stool and a second bucket, urged one of*

Grandpa's dozen cows into a bail and began to milk it. (*WWC* G22 122-125)[74]

(303) *'He**'ll not** bother you, Mrs Barich, I'll see to that.'* (*WWC* K48 196)

(304) *I**'ll not** have one four-eyed mayor spending my money for me.* (*WWC* K75 149-150)

While UncNs are preferred with the three operators analysed so far, uncontracted and contracted forms show an even distribution with the operator *would*, as can be seen in Table 77 below.

Table 77. Instances with the *would*-operator in *WWC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
CAT A	88,000	19 (2.15)	-	8 (0.9)	27
CAT B	54,000	8 (1.48)	-	5 (0.92)	13
CAT C	34,000	3 (0.88)	-	3 (0.88)	6
CAT D	34,000	1 (0.29)	-	1 (0.29)	2
CAT E	76,000	2 (0.26)	-	8 (1.05)	10
CAT F	88,000	10 (1.13)	-	4 (0.45)	14
CAT G	154,000	23 (1.49)	-	11 (0.71)	34
CAT H	60,000	8 (1.33)	-	-	8
CAT J	160,000	13 (0.81)	-	-	13
CAT K	252,000	23 (0.91)	2 (0.07)	69 (2.73)	94
TOTAL	1,000,000	110 (1.1)	2 (0.02)	109 (1.09)	221

As Table 77 evinces, in written NzE UncNs are favoured over contractions in all categories except Press Review (Cat C) and Religion (Cat D), where the proportion of contractions coincides with that of full forms, and Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) and Fiction (Cat K), where contractions clearly predominate over

[74] Notice that, as mentioned by Krug (1998: 293), the contracted form *that'll* is not very frequently used for phonological reasons, so that either the full form or the NotC variant are preferred (cf. Section II.3.2.3.5. above).

their uncontracted counterparts. In turn, the number of OpeCs is very low, NotCs being, once again, the preferred contracted variant. The only two occurrences of the OpeC type, both of them of the form *'d not*, examples (305) and (306) below, are found in the least formal category, namely Fiction (Cat K).

(305) *Paora waited as the man want to get them and after five minutes he began to think something was wrong and he* ***'d not*** *be able to get the heads.* (*WWC* K02 142-144)

(306) *Then Mark to say he* ***'d not*** *be home for lunch.* (*WWC* K31 158-159)

By way of summary, it can be said that in written NzE full forms clearly predominate over contractions with the operators *be*, *have* and *will*, although the proportional difference between UncNs, on the one hand, and OpeCs and NotC, on the other, is not so highly marked with the latter two operators. In the case of *would*, in turn, the choice between uncontracted negatives and negative contractions is rather balanced.

Besides text-type, the other factor analysed in this corpus is the type of subject. The data obtained for the different operators in *WWC* in accordance with subject-type are shown in Table 78 below. As can be observed, most tokens are found with simple pronominal subjects, which prefer NotCs with all operators except *be*. Notice that with this verb uncontracted forms predominate over contractions with subjects of this kind. With the remaining types of subjects, with the exception of existential *there*-constructions, UncNs are more common than contractions with the four operators examined.

Table 78. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in *WWC*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	273 (2.73)	200 (2)	44 (0.44)	100 (1)	5 (0.05)	123 (1.23)	53 (0.53)	3 (0.03)	66 (0.66)	64 (0.64)	2 (0.02)	86 (0.86)	1,019 (10.19)
Pronoun													
Complex	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Simple	306 (3.06)	7 (0.07)	30 (0.3)	101 (1.01)	-	26 (0.26)	41 (0.41)	-	21 (0.21)	39 (0.39)	-	21 (0.21)	592 (5.92)
NP Complex	22 (0.22)	-	-	8 (0.08)	-	-	7 (0.07)	-	1 (0.01)	2 (0.02)	-	2 (0.02)	42 (0.42)
Compound	3 (0.03)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	4 (0.04)
Exist. *there*	13 (0.13)	10 (0.1)	13 (0.13)	1 (0.01)	-	2 (0.02)	2 (0.02)	-	5 (0.05)	2 (0.02)	-	-	48 (0.48)
Clause	15 (0.15)	-	4 (0.04)	2 (0.02)	-	-	3 (0.03)	-	-	2 (0.02)	-	-	26 (0.26)

Thus, once again, the strong connection between the degree of complexity of the subject and the distribution of contracted and uncontracted variants, mentioned by scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 123), Krug (1998: 289) or Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129f), among others (cf. Section 3.4.1. above) is confirmed here.

In this connection, the frequency of sequences also plays an important role, since, as in the five other written corpora, contractions turn out to be more common with the most frequent strings. This is proved by the comparison of the two potentially contractible sequences *he is not* (cf. examples under (307)) and *the government is not* (cf. (308)). I have recorded 27 occurrences of the former sequence, out of which 14 (51.85%) are of the contracted type, and two instances with the string *the government is not*, none of them contracted. Thus, once again, the data in the *WWC* corpus seem to confirm Krug's statement that the more frequent a given sequence is, the higher is its contraction ratio.

(307) a. ***He is not*** *a judge or a lawyer.* (*WWC* B17 235)

b. ***He's not*** *a flamboyant man or a dynamic speaker, but his self-composure is striking.* (*WWC* B19 117-118)

c. *Big Dave's magic dipstick ought to be worth a bob or two, and since* ***he isn't*** *likely to need it, perhaps Roger the Dodger has been negotiating to sell it to Bodgie Bill, to take back to Oz and keep his bolshie anti-nuke left wing amused.* (*WWC* B19 250-253)

(308) *"****The Government is not*** *supporting a wild and irrational Maori cause.* (*WWC* B14 213-214)

3.4.7. Summary

The comparison of the data provided in Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.6. above shows that, generally speaking, uncontracted forms are preferred to a greater extent than contractions in all the written corpora. As regards contractions, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all the written dialects analysed in this study.

As far as text-types are concerned, it must be noted that, while in the most formal categories uncontracted negatives are the preferred option, contractions turn out to be the predominant choice in the less formal categories, due to their proximity to spoken style.

Concerning the distribution of the negative variant forms with individual operators, UncNs are the most common option with almost all verbs and in all corpora, with the exception of *FROWN*, which prefers contractions with all operators except *be*. As regards the variation between the two contracted types, there is a clear preponderance of NotCs over OpeCs with all verbs except *be*, thus confirming the exceptional behaviour of this operator described in the literature on the topic. However, this does not hold true in the case of written AmE texts from the 1960s, where NotCs are used more frequently than OpeCs with all operators including *be*.

Finally, as regards the distribution of negative forms according to type of subject, contractions, mainly NotCs, are more frequent with pronominal subjects and with existential *there*, while UncNs constitute the predominant alternative with more complex subject types, such as NPs or clauses.

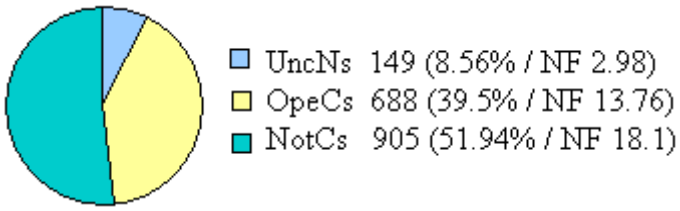
3.5. Analysis of the Spoken Corpora

This section is concerned with the variation between the three alternative negative forms under analysis in spoken texts of BrE, AmE and NzE. For this purpose, the *LLC* (Section 3.5.1. below), the *CSPAE* (Section 3.5.2.) and the *WSC* (Section 3.5.3.) will be analysed in detail, taking into consideration variables such as text-type, operators and type of subject.

3.5.1. The *London-Lund Corpus* (*LLC*)

As seen in Section 3.3. above, the *LLC* contains 1,742 examples which allow the interchangeability between the three negative variants under consideration. These 1,742 examples are distributed in the following way: 149 (NF per 10,000 words 2.98) for UncNs, 688 (NF 13.76) for OpeCs and 905 (NF 18.1) for NotCs, as illustrated in Figure 20 below.

Figure 20. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *LLC*



The most immediate conclusion to be drawn from this figure is that the *LLC* shows an overall preference for contractions (91.44%, NF per 10,000 words 31.86) at the expense of uncontracted forms (8.56%, NF per 10,000 words 2.98). Such a preference contrasts sharply with the predominance of uncontracted negatives witnessed in the written corpora examined in Section 3.4. above. This corroborates the statement found in the literature that, in contemporary English,

contractions are more commonly used in speech than in writing (cf. Fries 1940: 8; Forsheden 1983: 36; Biber 1988: 243 and, Section II.3.1.1. above). As regards contractions, NotCs are the predominant contracted type. The distribution of the different negative forms found in *LLC* according to text-type is given in Table 79 below.

Table 79. Full forms and contractions according to text-type in *LLC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
S.1	65,000	9 (1.38)	131 (20.15)	181 (27.85)	321
S.2	73,000	20 (2.73)	133 (18.21)	184 (25.2)	337
S.3	37,000	8 (2.16)	54 (14.59)	99 (26.75)	161
S.4	35,000	4 (1.14)	74 (21.14)	83 (23.71)	161
S.5	65,000	39 (6)	86 (13.23)	104 (16)	229
S.6	45,000	6 (1.33)	54 (12)	66 (14.66)	126
S.7	15,000	3 (2)	29 (19.33)	43 (28.66)	75
S.8	20,000	7 (3.5)	42 (21)	48 (24)	97
S.9	25,000	6 (2.4)	25 (10)	41 (16.4)	72
S.10	55,000	9 (1.63)	31 (5.63)	25 (4.54)	65
S.11	30,000	20 (6.67)	13 (4.33)	19 (6.33)	52
S.12	35,000	18 (5.14)	16 (4.57)	12 (3.42)	46
TOTAL	500,000	149 (2.98)	688 (13.76)	905 (18.1)	1,742

As the data in this table show, contractions are preferred to uncontracted forms in all text-types, even in the most formal ones. However, the proportion of contracted and full forms differs considerably among categories. Thus, the less formal text-types, such as S.1 (Conversation between equals) (NF per 10,000 words 1.38 for UncNs vs. NF 48 for contractions) or S.4 (Conversation between intimates and equals) (NF 1.14 for UncNs vs. 44.85 for contractions) are those

where the ratio of contractions is the highest. By contrast, in a very formal type of text, such as S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration), the proportional difference between contractions and full forms is not so highly marked (NF 5.14 for UncNs vs. 7.99 for contractions). Concerning the selection of contractions, it should be noted that NotCs are favoured over OpeCs in most text-types, with the exception of S.10 (Spontaneous commentary) and S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration), the latter being the most formal text-type in *LLC*. The data in this corpus therefore suggest that, in spoken BrE, examples such as (310) and especially (311) are more common than that in (309).

(309) *you* ***have not*** *produced a scrap of evidence.* (*LLC* S5 3 44 7780 1 1 l 11)

(310) *you****'ve not*** *read many nineteenth century novels or present twentieth century novels D H Lawrence say.* (*LLC* S3 5b 6711780 1 3-5b 6711780 1 1)

(311) *so you've never I mean you* ***haven't*** *been in the habit of interviewing many candidates.* (*LLC* S2 6 50 4640 1 1 A 12-6 51 4660 1 1 A 11)

Once the general data from the *LLC* have been examined, it is time to consider the results obtained for the different operators which allow the three alternative ways of negation under analysis. First of all, I shall concentrate my attention on the *be*-operator. Table 80 below gives clear evidence of how *be* behaves in spoken BrE in different text-types. As can be seen, the operator *be* shows an overall preference for contractions (NF 16.86 vs. 2.1), which also holds true for all individual text-types. Thus, in spoken BrE, the operator *be* favours the use of contractions not only in less formal categories, such as S.5 (Conversation), but also in the most formal ones, such as S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration).

Table 80. Examples with the *be*-operator in *LLC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
S.1	65,000	6 (0.92)	126 (19.38)	29 (4.46)	161
S.2	73,000	14 (1.91)	123 (16.84)	42 (5.75)	179
S.3	37,000	6 (1.62)	49 (13.24)	25 (6.75)	80
S.4	35,000	3 (0.85)	70 (20)	18 (5.14)	91
S.5	65,000	31 (4.76)	84 (12.92)	25 (3.84)	140
S.6	45,000	6 (1.33)	51 (11.33)	22 (4.88)	79
S.7	15,000	3 (2)	27 (18)	5 (3.33)	35
S.8	20,000	4 (2)	40 (20)	9 (4.5)	53
S.9	25,000	4 (1.6)	24 (9.6)	5 (2)	33
S.10	55,000	6 (1.09)	29 (5.27)	7 (1.27)	42
S.11	30,000	10 (3.33)	13 (4.33)	3 (1)	26
S.12	35,000	12 (3.42)	16 (4.57)	1 (0.28)	29
TOTAL	500,000	105 (2.1)	652 (13.04)	191 (3.82)	948

As was the case with the general data (cf. Table 79 above), such a preference is more noticeable in the informal categories than in the formal ones. Thus, for example, in category S.4 (Conversation between intimates and equals), a very informal text-type, the ratio of contractions over full forms is as high as 24.29 (NF per 10,000 words), while in a very formal category such as S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration), the proportional difference between the two variants is considerably lower (NF 1.43).

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the operator *be* in *LLC* concerns the variation between the two kinds of contractions. Thus, contrary to the general data presented in Table 79 above, *be* selects OpeCs more frequently than NotCs in all categories. This is especially evident in a text-type such as Surreptitious telephone

conversations between business associates (S.8) (NF 20 for OpeCs vs. 4.5 for NotCs). Such a predominance of OpeCs over NotCs in *LLC* confirms, once again, the statements by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) or Anderwald (2002), among others (cf. Sections II.3.2.3.1. and II.4.1. above), on the tendency of the operator *be* to select OpeC.

As far as individual forms are concerned (cf. Table 81 below), the data from the *LLC* differ from those provided in the study of the written corpora developed in Section 3.4. above.

Table 81. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *LLC*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
S.1	-	36	-	1	23	11	5	67	18
S.2	-	33	1	2	22	4	12	68	37
S.3	1	12	-	3	10	7	2	27	18
S.4	-	14	-	-	24	4	3	32	14
S.5	3	33	-	10	16	9	18	35	16
S.6	-	20	-	2	13	1	4	18	21
S.7	-	10	-	1	7	-	2	10	5
S.8	-	14	-	1	11	1	3	15	8
S.9	-	9	-	2	5	1	2	10	4
S.10	-	3	-	2	9	2	4	17	5
S.11	-	5	-	6	3	-	4	5	3
S.12	2	8	-	4	2	-	6	6	1
TOTAL	**6**	**197**	**1**	**34**	**145**	**40**	**65**	**310**	**150**

Here contracted forms are by far the predominant choice (six instances for the UncN of *am not* vs. 198 for contractions (197 OpeCs and one NotC), 34 UncNs for *are not* vs. 185 for contractions (145 OpeCs and 40 NotCs) and 65 for *is not*

vs. 460 for contractions (310 OpeCs and 150 NotCs)). Besides, the sequence *is not*, which is the most frequent in the corpus (525 occurrences), is also the one which favours the use of contracted forms to a greater extent (87.62%), confirming therefore Krug's (1998: 294) string frequency factor (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above). Moreover, as the data show, OpeC is the predominant type for the three individual grammatical forms, being especially frequent for the first person singular. For this grammatical person, only one example of NotC has been recorded in Conversation between equals (S.2) (cf. example (312) below).

(312) *and flirting with the conductor and one of them said to the other you're a dirty whore and she said no I* ***ain't*** *I`m a clean whore.* (*LLC* S2 5a 50 4380 1 1 C 11 1-5a 51 4420 1 1 C 11 1)

Contrary to my expectations, this is the only occurrence of the form *ain't*, both for the operators *be* and *have*, I have recorded in *LLC*. In this connection, spoken BrE as represented in the *LLC* corpus differs from the data obtained for written BrE, where four instances were recorded in *LOB* (cf. Section 3.4.1. above) and nine in *FLOB* (cf. Section 3.4.2. above).

As regards the distribution of contractions and full forms with the operator *be* depending on whether it functions as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary for passive and progressive constructions, the data from spoken BrE do not differ too much from those of written BrE from the 1990s. Here again, as seen in Table 82 below, contractions are somewhat more frequent with *be* as a lexical verb than as an auxiliary (89.08% vs. 88.35% respectively), thus corroborating Philips & Reynolds' (1987) statement that contractions of *be* are preferable with main verb

than with its auxiliary counterpart. Moreover, contracted forms are also more common with progressive *be* (93.57%) than with passive *be* (77.27%)

Table 82. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *LLC*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		81(10.92%)	661 (89.08%)		742
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	9 (6.43%)	131 (93.57%)	182 (88.35%)	140
	Passive	15 (22.73%)	51 (77.27%)		66

Concerning the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs with lexical and auxiliary *be*, the data in *LLC* are closely related to those obtained from written BrE, where the highest proportion of contractions with lexical *be* corresponds to the OpeC variant. Table 83 below displays the data obtained for spoken BrE as regards the selection of the fused variants with auxiliary *be* and lexical *be*. However, this corpus behaves differently from its written counterparts, since NotCs are more frequent with the auxiliary *be* in passives than in progressive sentences (15.69% vs. 6.87%, respectively).

Table 83. Contracted forms with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *LLC*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		487 (73.68%)		174 (26.32%)		661
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	122 (93.13%)	165 (90.66%)	9 (6.87%)	17 (9.34%)	131
	Passive	43 (84.31%)		8 (15.69%)		51

The second operator studied here is the *have*-operator, which also favours the use of contractions, mainly NotCs, over uncontracted forms, as Table 84 below evinces. A total of 466 occurrences with the *have*-operator have been found

in this corpus, distributed as follows: 21 (NF 0.42) for UncNs, 32 (NF 0.64) for OpeCs and 413 for NotCs (NF 8.26). Once again, contractions are by far the preferred variant, even in formal categories such as S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration), although the difference between contractions and full forms is not so highly marked here (four examples of UncNs vs. five instances of contractions). Besides, there is no evidence of UncNs in S.3 (Conversation between disparates), S.4 (Conversations between intimates and equals), S.6 (Non-surreptitious conversations between disparates) and S.7 (Surreptitious telephone conversations between personal friends).

Table 84. Occurrences with the *have*-operator in *LLC*

	Number of words in each category	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**TOTAL**
S.1	65,000	1 (0.15)	5 (0.76)	87 (13.38)	93
S.2	73,000	2 (0.27)	7 (0.95)	81 (11.09)	90
S.3	37,000	-	5 (1.35)	56 (15.13)	61
S.4	35,000	-	4 (1.14)	32 (9.14)	36
S.5	65,000	4 (0.61)	2 (0.3)	36 (5.53)	42
S.6	45,000	-	3 (0.66)	29 (6.44)	32
S.7	15,000	-	2 (1.33)	27 (18)	29
S.8	20,000	3 (1.5)	2 (1)	25 (12.5)	30
S.9	25,000	2 (0.8)	-	18 (7.2)	20
S.10	55,000	3 (0.54)	2 (0.36)	13 (2.36)	18
S.11	30,000	2 (0.66)	-	4 (1.33)	6
S.12	35,000	4 (1.14)	-	5 (1.42)	9
TOTAL	500,000	21 (0.42)	32 (0.64)	413 (8.26)	466

Concerning the use of contractions, NotCs predominate over OpeCs in all categories.[75] This predominance of NotCs over OpeCs confirms the statements mentioned in the literature by scholars such as Hiller (1981) or Kjellmer (1998), among many others (cf. Sections II.3.2.3.1. and II.4.2. above).

As regards the behaviour of individual grammatical forms, no significant differences can be detected with respect to the general data given in Table 79 above, since with *have not*, *has not* and *had not* contractions are more frequent than uncontracted forms, and NotCs are clearly preferred to OpeCs (cf. Table 85 below).

Table 85. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *LLC*

	Have not			***Has not***			***Had not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
S.1	-	4	58	1	-	11	-	1	18
S.2	1	3	57	-	4	9	1	-	15
S.3	-	5	53	-	-	1	-	-	2
S.4	-	3	21	-	1	3	-	-	8
S.5	1	2	18	1	-	8	2	-	10
S.6	-	2	18	-	-	3	-	1	8
S.7	-	-	18	-	2	8	-	-	1
S.8	-	2	19	-	-	3	3	-	3
S.9	2	-	14	-	-	2	-	-	2
S.10	-	1	2	2	-	9	1	1	2
S.11	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1
S.12	2	-	2	1	-	-	1	-	3
TOTAL	**8**	**22**	**283**	**5**	**7**	**57**	**8**	**3**	**73**

[75] In S.9 (Surreptitious telephone conversations between disparates), S.11 (Spontaneous oration) and S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration) there is no evidence of OpeCs.

The preponderance of NotCs over the two other variants is especially noticeable with the form *have not*, for which only eight instances of UncNs and 22 of OpeCs have been identified, while NotCs occur on 283 occasions. It is also worth noting that the *LLC* contains a very low number of OpeCs with *has not* and *had not*. As seen in Section 3.4.1. above, this is probably so due to the tendency to use either the full form or the NotC variant in order to avoid problems of ambiguity with the OpeCs of *is not* and *would not* respectively.

As in the case of the written corpora (cf. Section 3.4. above), in spoken BrE contractions seem to be preferred to a greater extent with the operator *have* functioning as a main verb (96.55%) than as an auxiliary verb (95.14%). However, in the latter function, the ratio of OpeCs is higher with auxiliary have than when *have* is a lexical verb (8.86% vs. 0.86% respectively). Moreover, as regards the use of the lexical *have*, it can be said that, in spoken BrE, instances such as those (313a-c) are preferred to those in (314a-c) in which negation is expressed by means of the dummy *do* plus *not*. A total of 116 examples (61.05%) of the former type have been recorded in the corpus, vs. 74 (38.95%) of negation with *do* + *not*. This confirms Quirk *et al*.'s (1985: 131) statement that the lexical verb *have* tends to be negated with *not*. Our data from the *LOB* (cf. Section 3.4.1. above), and *LLC* show that the tendency applies to both written and spoken BrE, though in the spoken medium the proportion of examples with *do*-support is higher than that found in the *LOB* corpus.

(313) a. *and they* ***haven't*** *the first clue.* (*LLC* S1 6 81 7570 1 1 A 11)
b. *it* ***hasn't*** *got any energy.* (*LLC* S10 9a 670 1 1 a 11)
c. they ***hadn't*** any money. (*LLC* S8 4j 19 7980 1 1 A 1110)

(314) a. *there's something about it if you* ***don't have*** *other people's sophistication imposed on the picture.* (*LLC* S1 8 68 6960 1 1 C 11-8 68 6980 1 1 C 11)

b. *she's always regarded my my father's mother as being somewhat dirty and and slightly illiterate because she* ***doesn't have*** *the same speech patterns you know.* (*LLC* S5 8 85 6530 1 1 a 11-8 85 6560 1 1 a 11)

c. *we only had one resolution we* ***didn't have*** *two.* (*LLC* S5 5 40 7450 1 1 f 11-5 40 7460 1 1 f 11)

Finally, an important feature of the operator *have* in this corpus is that the number of examples with *got*, as in (315) below, is much higher in *LLC* than in its two written BrE counterparts (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above): 98 examples (NF 1.96) in *LLC*, 18 instances (NF 0.18) in *LOB* and 20 (NF 0.2) in *FLOB*. Such a difference undoubtedly indicates that the *have got*-construction is more typical of spoken BrE than of the written language.

(315) *as though I* ***hadn't got*** *enough fights on my hands at the moment.* (*LLC* S1 1 53 8230 1 2 A 11- 1 53 8230 1 1 A 11)

After analysing the operators *be* and *have*, it is time to see how the *will*-operator behaves in the different text-types (cf. Table 86 below). As can be seen, in *LLC* the proportion of contractions with *will* (NF 2.14) is higher than that of UncNs (NF 0.16). Notice the low number of examples of UncNs, only eight instances in all, and OpeCs, only four examples, distributed among two categories: three in Conversations between equals (S.2) (cf. examples (316) to (318) below) and just one in Surreptitious telephone conversations between disparates (S.9) (cf. example (319)).

Table 86. Tokens with the *will*-operator in *LLC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
S.1	65,000	1 (0.15)	-	19 (2.92)	20
S.2	73,000	-	3 (0.41)	15 (2.05)	18
S.3	37,000	-	-	2 (0.54)	2
S.4	35,000	1 (0.28)	-	16 (4.57)	17
S.5	65,000	2 (0.3)	-	13 (2)	15
S.6	45,000	-	-	5 (1.11)	5
S.7	15,000	-	-	7 (4.66)	7
S.8	20,000	-	-	9 (4.5)	9
S.9	25,000	-	1 (0.4)	7 (2.8)	8
S.10	55,000	-	-	2 (0.36)	2
S.11	30,000	4 (1.33)	-	5 (1.66)	9
S.12	35,000	-	-	3 (0.85)	3
TOTAL	500,000	8 (0.16)	4 (0.08)	103 (2.06)	115

Thus, in *LLC*, there is a general preference for NotC over the two other variants. In this respect, the *will*-operator resembles the operator *have* examined above.

(316) *oh by golly we**'ll not** lose them.* (*LLC* S2 2a 38 2170 2 4 a 20 1)

(317) *yes oh when they when they when they are used they will be totally anonymous they**'ll not** be merely anonymous they will have all the names changed.* (*LLC* S2 2a 43 2440 2 3 a 20 1 - 2a 43 2440 2 1 a 20 1)

(318) *and that kind of thing you**'ll not** just you needn`t worry with it.* (*LLC* S2 2a 65 3610 1 5(a 20 1 - 2a 65 3610 1 4(a 20 1)

(319) ***I'll not** bother to tell you all what I've put in the letter.* (*LLC* S9 2l 7 6700 1 2 A 1212 - 2l 7 6700 1 1 A 1212)

The last operator studied in relation to text-types is *would*. The distribution of its UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs in *LLC* is shown in Table 87 below. The total number of examples with *would* in *LLC* amounts to 213, distributed as follows: 15

cases of UncNs (NF 0.3) and 198 examples of contractions (NF 3.96), all of them NotCs. Therefore, as was the case with the *have* and *will*-operators, there is a clearly marked preference for NotCs with *would*. As Table 87 evinces, the proportional difference between contractions and uncontracted forms in those categories where both types are present, S.1 and S.2 (Conversations between equals), S.3 (Conversations between disparates), S.5 (Conversations), S.11 (Spontaneous oration) and S.12 (Prepared but unscripted oration), is much lower in the most formal text-types, such as S.12 (0.28), than in less formal categories, such as S.1 (6.92).

Table 87. Instances with the *would*-operator in *LLC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
S.1	65,000	1 (0.15)	-	46 (7.07)	47
S.2	73,000	4 (0.54)	-	46 (6.3)	50
S.3	37,000	2 (0.54)	-	16 (4.32)	18
S.4	35,000	-	-	17 (4.85)	17
S.5	65,000	2 (0.3)	-	30 (4.61)	32
S.6	45,000	-	-	10 (2.22)	10
S.7	15,000	-	-	4 (2.66)	4
S.8	20,000	-	-	5 (2.5)	5
S.9	25,000	-	-	11 (4.4)	11
S.10	55,000	-	-	3 (0.54)	3
S.11	30,000	4 (1.33)	-	7 (2.33)	11
S.12	35,000	2 (0.57)	-	3 (0.85)	5
TOTAL	500,000	15 (0.3)	-	198 (3.96)	213

In summary, in spoken BrE the four operators examined in this piece of research favour the use of contractions over full forms in all kinds of texts. However, the proportional difference between the former and the latter type of

negation is considerably higher with the *be*-operator than with the three other verbs. As far as contractions are concerned, NotCs are clearly preferred with all operators except *be*, thus corroborating what scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 1596f), Biber *et al*. (1999: 166, 1129ff) and Kortmann (2003: 70f), among others, affirm about the predominance of NotCs with all operators with the exception of *be* (cf. Section II.3.2. above).

As in the case of the written corpora (cf. Section 2.4. above), another variable analysed is the type of subject. The data obtained for the different operators in *LLC* in relation to the type of subject are provided in Table 88 below. As can be seen, most tokens are found with simple pronominal subjects, which prefer NotCs with all operators except *be*, for which the most frequent choice is that of OpeC. With the remaining subject-types, except for complex NPs with the *be*-operator, NotC is also the most frequent variant. Therefore, the tendency found in all the written corpora (cf. Section 3.4. above) for more complex subjects to favour the use of full forms and for simple subjects to prefer contractions does not hold true in spoken BrE as represented in *LLC*.

Table 88. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in *LLC*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	58 (1.16)	625 (12.5)	104 (2.08)	17 (0.34)	32 (0.64)	396 (7.92)	3 (0.06)	4 (0.08)	92 (1.84)	14 (0.28)	-	180 (3.6)	1,525 (30.5)
Pronoun Complex	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.02)
Simple	38 (0.76)	11 (0.22)	53 (1.06)	4 (0.08)	-	14 (0.28)	4 (0.08)	-	5 (0.1)	1 (0.02)	-	14 (0.28)	144 (2.88)
NP Complex	4 (0.08)	-	2 (0.04)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.02)		-	2 (0.04)	9 (0.18)
Compound	1 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.02)
Exist. *there*	4 (0.08)	16 (0.32)	32 (0.64)	-	-	3 (0.06)	-	-	5 (0.1)	-	-	1 (0.02)	61 (1.22)
Clause	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.02)	1 (0.02)

As to the potential effect of string frequency (cf. Krug (1998: 294), I have selected, as in the other corpora analysed so far, two potentially contractible sequences, one with a pronominal subject (*he is not*) and one with a NP subject which appears at least twice in the corpus (*dhobi is not*)[76] (cf. examples (320) and (321) below, respectively). A total of 37 examples have been recorded with the sequence *he is not*, out of which 36 are contractions, and only two instances with *Dhobi is not*, none of them contracted. Although the low number of potentially contractible forms with NPs do not allow me to draw definite conclusions in this respect, the data seem to indicate that more frequent sequences are those which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent.

(320) a. ***He is not*** *a very clever boy.* (*LLC* S1 114b 9 9460 1 1 A 11 2)
b. ***He's not a hasty man***. (*LLC* S1 1 39 5980 1 1 A 11)
c. *well* ***he isn't*** *anything.* (*LLC* S1 13 20 1620 1 1 B 11)

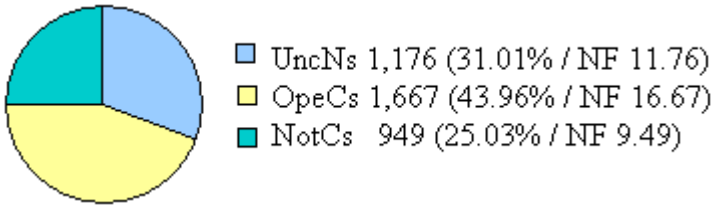
(321) *but* ***dhobi is not*** *quite so common.* (*LLC* S2 14 25 2080 1 1 A 11)

3.5.2. The *Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (*CSPAE*)

The analysis o f the *CSPAE* has yielded 3,792 examples of the three variants of negation under analysis. These 3,792 examples are distributed as follows: 1,176 cases of UncNs (NF 11.76), 1,667 of OpeCs (NF 16.67) and 949 of NotCs (NF 9.49), as illustrated in Figure 21 below.

[76] According to the *OED* (s. v. *dhobi* 1), *dhobi* means 'a native washerman in India.'

Figure 21. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *CSPAE*



The most immediate conclusion to be drawn from this figure is that, as was the case with the BrE spoken corpus (cf. Section 3.5.1. above), in spoken AmE contractions are far more frequent than full forms. However, such fused forms are somewhat less common in the AmE corpus than in the BrE one (NF 11.76 for UncNs and 26.16 for contractions in *CSPAE* vs. 2.98 for UncNs and 31.86 for contractions in *LLC*). This seems to contradict the statements by Biber (1987: 11f), Tottie (1991: 12) or Castillo-González (2003: 678ff), among many others, that AmE favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than BrE (cf. Section II.3.2.2. above). It must be noted, however, that the lower frequency of contracted forms in my AmE data in comparison with those from the *LLC* can be related to the higher degree of formality of the texts included in *CSPAE*, which, as seen in Section III.1.2., comprises spoken material from university meetings and White House press briefings.

Another significant feature found in the spoken AmE corpus concerns the distribution of contracted types, since OpeCs predominate over NotCs, in contrast to the general tendency in favour of the latter variant detected in all the corpora analysed so far. Such a preference for OpeCs in *CSPAE* may be related to the large number of examples with the operator *be*. As seen in the following

paragraphs, examples with the *be*-operator (2,477 in all) represent 65.32% of the total number of instances recorded in this corpus (cf. Table 89 below).

As concerns text-type, the distribution of the 3,792 examples found in *CSPAE* is given in Table 89 below.

Table 89. Negative examples according to text-type in *CSPAE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
Math Com 6/97	110,000	79 (7.18)	185 (16.81)	115 (10.45)	379
Read Com 6A/97	100,000	100 (10)	213 (21.3)	109 (10.9)	422
Read Com 6B/97	140,000	150 (10.71)	296 (21.14)	192 (13.71)	638
North Carol 95	51,000	51 (10)	54 (10.58)	38 (7.45)	143
North Carol 96	45,000	41 (9.11)	45 (10)	27 (6)	113
North Carol 97	66,000	89 (13.48)	68 (10.3)	47 (7.12)	204
WH 95	100,000	170 (17)	91 (9.1)	57 (5.7)	318
WH 97A	180,000	213 (1.83)	310 (17.22)	181 (10.05)	704
WH 97B	208,000	283 (13.6)	405 (19.47)	183 (8.79)	871
TOTAL	1,000,000	1,176 (11.76)	1,667 (16.67)	949 (9.49)	3,792

The data in this table evince that contractions are the preferred option in most text-types, with the exception of WH 95, where UncNs outnumber contractions (NF 17 vs. 14.8 respectively). Another important feature shown in Table 89 above is that OpeCs are preferred to NotCs in all text-types, thus confirming that the AmE data in *CSPAE* behave differently from those obtained for spoken BrE (cf. Section 3.5.1 above). Thus, while in spoken AmE UncNs (NF 11.76) and OpeCs (NF 16.67) are more frequent than in *LLC* (NF 2.98 and 13.76, respectively), NotCs are more numerous in the BrE corpus than in the AmE one (NF 9.49 in *CSPAE* vs. 18.1 in *LLC*). As mentioned above, the different degree of formality of

the spoken AmE texts and their BrE counterparts may go a long way towards explaining such a wide discrepancy between the two sets of data.

The following paragraphs will be devoted to the distribution of the variants under study in relation to the type of operator used, in order to check whether contractions, mainly OpeCs, are also the preferred option with each verb individually. The first operator examined is *be*.

Table 90. Instances with the *be*-operator in *CSPAE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
Math Com 6/97	110,000	56 (5.09)	185 (16.81)	28 (2.54)	269
Read Com 6A/97	100,000	73 (7.3)	213 (21.3)	33 (3.3)	319
Read Com 6B/97	140,000	111 (7.92)	292 (20.85)	52 (3.71)	455
North Carol 95	51,000	35 (6.86)	54 (10.58)	9 (1.76)	98
North Carol 96	45,000	21 (4.66)	45 (10)	6 (1.33)	72
North Carol 97	66,000	49 (7.42)	68 (10.3)	11 (1.66)	128
WH 95	100,000	82 (8.2)	89 (8.9)	10 (1)	181
WH 97A	180,000	89 (4.94)	305 (16.94)	21 (1.16)	415
WH 97B	208,000	118 (5.67)	403 (19.37)	19 (0.91)	540
TOTAL	1,000,000	634 (6.34)	1,654 (16.54)	189 (1.89)	2,477

As shown in Table 90, the statements made above concerning the predominance of contractions over uncontracted forms and about the preference for OpeCs at the expense of NotCs hold true in all text-types with the *be*-operator.

The data from the individual forms of the *be*-operator (cf. Table 91 below) reveal that contracted forms are, without exception, the most frequent negative variants. Nevertheless, the proportional difference between full forms and

contractions is particularly marked for the first person singular (21 occurrences of UncNs vs. 586 of contractions, all of them OpeCs). The forms *is not* (376 examples of UncNs vs. 790 of contractions) and *are not* (237 of UncNs vs. 467 of contractions) show a similar proportion of uncontracted vs. contracted variants. Furthermore, the predominance of OpeCs over NotCs also holds true for the three individual forms. In this respect, spoken AmE does not differ from its BrE counterpart.

Table 91. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *CSPAE*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
Math Com 6/97	-	44	-	25	46	12	31	95	16
Read Com 6A/97	-	49	-	30	62	22	43	102	11
Read Com 6B/97	-	87	-	43	59	27	68	146	25
North Carol 95	-	13	-	15	12	5	20	29	4
North Carol 96	2	18	-	10	16	5	9	11	1
North Carol 97	2	19	-	20	21	5	27	28	6
WH 95	4	22	-	21	25	5	57	42	5
WH 97A	7	148	-	34	59	12	48	98	9
WH 97B	6	186	-	39	65	9	73	152	10
TOTAL	**21**	**586**	**-**	**237**	**365**	**102**	**376**	**703**	**87**

As in the case of the spoken BrE corpus (cf. Section 3.5.1. above), in spoken AmE, the form *ain't* (both for the *be* and *have* operators) is practically non-existent. In this respect, the *CSPAE* contrasts with the written AmE corpora *BROWN* and *FROWN*, which contain a relatively high number of instances of such a form (34 and 44 examples, respectively). The only example recorded in this corpus of the form *ain't*, which corresponds to *are not*, is the following:

(322) *MCCURRY: [...] There's no money left in that program. There was $166 million in the bill to put money in for that --*

VOICE: Can you finish talking about –

MCCURRY: We can get some more – that's probably easier to do, without reading the whole thing. Can we see if Larry can do that? He said we can probably scrub this and put it out. Okay.

VOICE: So what you're saying, in effect, is that the Republicans –

MCCURRY: The Department of Interior -- remember out at Yosemite, when they were trying to repair all the stuff that was damaged out at Yosemite, rebuilding some of the facilities within the park. […]

VOICE: So you're saying that Republicans were more interested in going on vacation than in --

MCCURRY No, I'm just saying that they ***ain't*** *doing a good job of running the place. That's what I'm saying.* (*CSPAE* WH97B)

This example occurs in a dialogue between Mike McCurry, a White House Press secretary (cf. Barlow 2000: 18), and a reporter ('*VOICE'*). The use of *ain't* in this example on the part of the former speaker could be related to his annoyance, at being interrupted all the time by the reporter, so that he changes from formal to informal style as the conversation proceeds, as shown in example (322) above.

Spoken AmE as represented in *CSPAE* shows the tendency found in *LOB* and *BROWN* (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.3. above) for contractions to occur more frequently with the operator *be* functioning as an auxiliary (77.13%) rather than as a lexical verb (72.87%) (cf. Table 92 below). Thus, despite comprising data from

the 1990s, the *CSPAE* is closer in this respect to the oldest corpora than to the most recent ones. Moreover, as expected, fused forms are more common with progressive *be* (81.87%) than with passive *be* (61.54%)

Table 92. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *CSPAE*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		430 (27.13%)	1,155 (72.87%)		1,585
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	124 (18.13%)	560 (81.87%)	688 (77.13%)	684
	Passive	80 (38.46%)	128 (61.54%)		208

In turn, the most significant characteristic of the selection of the two contracted variants with the operator *be* in *CSPAE* is that both OpeCs and NotCs are evenly distributed with lexical *be* and with auxiliary *be*, as shown in Table 93 below. It is also noticeable that, as in spoken BrE, in spoken AmE NotCs are more numerous with the operator *be* functioning as an auxiliary for the passive (17.19%) than as an auxiliary for the progressive (8.57%).

Table 93. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *CSPAE*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		1,036 (89.7%)		119 (10.3%)		1,155
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	512 (91.43%)	618 (89.83%)	48 (8.57%)	70 (10.17%)	560
	Passive	106 (82.81%)		22 (17.19%)		128

Let us concentrate now on the *have*-operator as far as text-type is concerned (cf. Table 94 below). The preference for negative contractions witnessed above for *be* is also evident with the *have*-operator, though it is not so strongly marked as in the case of the verb *be*.

Table 94. The operator *have* in *CSPAE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
Math Com 6/97	110,000	2 (0.18)	-	26 (2.36)	28
Read Com 6A/97	100,000	8 (0.8)	-	39 (3.9)	47
Read Com 6B/97	140,000	13 (0.92)	2 (0.14)	68 (4.85)	83
North Carol 95	51,000	6 (1.17)	-	12 (2.35)	18
North Carol 96	45,000	8 (1.77)	-	11 (2.44)	19
North Carol 97	66,000	23 (3.48)	-	19 (2.87)	42
WH 95	100,000	41 (4.1)	2 (0.2)	20 (2)	63
WH 97A	180,000	76 (4.22)	5 (0.27)	92 (5.11)	173
WH 97B	208,000	101 (4.85)	2 (0.09)	86 (4.13)	189
TOTAL	1,000,000	278 (2.78)	11 (0.11)	373 (3.73)	662

Moreover, in three different categories, namely North Carol 97, WH 95 and WH 97B, uncontracted forms outnumber contracted ones. Nevertheless, the most significant feature reflected in this table concerns the distribution of the two contracted types: in contrast to the general data given in Table 89 above and those for the verb *be*, provided in Table 90, NotCs are preferred to OpeCs with the *have*-operator in all categories of the *CSPAE*. In fact, OpeCs with *have* are poorly represented in this corpus (only 11 examples). Therefore, as far as contractions are concerned, the operator *have* behaves in *CSPAE* as in the other corpora analysed so far (cf. Sections 2.4. and 2.5.1. above), thus confirming the overall preference of this verb for NotCs mentioned in the literature by scholars such as Hiller (1988) or Kjellmer (1998), among others (cf. Section II.4.2. above).

One important feature of the operator *have* concerns the distribution of full forms and contractions regarding its individual forms (cf. Table 95 below). While

the sequences *have not* (169 instances of UncNs vs. 272 of contractions) and *had not* (25 of UncNs vs. 28 of the fused variants) favour the use of contractions, contracted and full forms are evenly distributed with *has not* (84 instances of each type).

Table 95. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *CSPAE*

	Have not			***Has not***			***Had not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
Math Com 6/97	1	-	19	1	-	5	-	-	2
Read Com 6A/97	7	-	31	1	-	8	-	-	-
Read Com 6B/97	10	1	46	2	1	17	1	-	5
North Carol 95	4	-	10	1	-	-	1	-	2
North Carol 96	3	-	10	2	-	1	3	-	-
North Carol 97	17	-	18	4	-	1	2	-	-
WH 95	28	2	12	7	-	8	6	-	-
WH 97A	51	3	64	21	2	15	4	-	13
WH 97B	48	1	55	45	1	25	8	-	6
TOTAL	**169**	**7**	**265**	**84**	**4**	**80**	**25**	**-**	**28**

As can be seen in Table 95, the frequency of contractions is especially high with the sequence *have not* (61.68%). Also noticeable is the low number of instances recorded for the OpeC with the three grammatical forms, only seven for *have not* and four for *has not*. As stated in Sections II.3.2.3. and II.4.2. above, the scarcity of examples of this kind, especially with the *had not* and *has not* variants, can be related to the desire to avoid potential ambiguity with other contracted forms of the verbs *would* and *be* respectively.

One characteristic of the *have*-operator in *CSPAE* common to all the previous corpora is that fused forms are used to a greater extent with *have* as a

lexical verb than with *have* as an auxiliary (75% vs. 57.9%, respectively). Likewise, the preference for NotCs with lexical *have* (75% vs. 65.14%) and for OpeCs with auxiliary *have* (no instance with lexical *have* has been attested) is also shared by all the corpora analysed so far with the exception of the *FLOB* and *FROWN* corpora, where both types of contractions are more common with *have* as a main verb (cf. Sections 3.4.2. and 3.4.4. above).

In this corpus only four examples of lexical *have* have been identified, three of them containing *got*. Consider examples (323) to (326) below.

(323) *So you **haven't** a clue what he's going to do today?* (*CSPAE* WH97B)

(324) *And not having had that update, I **have not got** a whole lot to tell you.* (*CSPAE* WH97B)

(325) *We **haven't got** much about critical stance, but I'll tell you, from where I sit, that's an important kind of question to ask kids.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6B/97)

(326) *I **haven't** still **got** a clear sense of when doing a grid is important.* (*CSPAE* Math Com 6/97)

If I compare these data with those of the *LLC* (cf. Section 3.5.1. above), where 98 occurrences of the *have got* construction were recorded, I come to the conclusion that spoken BrE favours the use of *have got* to a greater extent than spoken AmE, at least in negative clauses. My data thus confirm the statements by scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 131f) that, in AmE, the operator *have* functioning as a lexical verb tends to avoid the construction *have got* (cf. Sections II.4.2. above and III.3.4.3. above). The data in *CSPAE* clearly show that AmE also prefers the negative variant with the *do*-auxiliary with lexical *have*. Instances of this kind in

the corpus amount to 429, which represents 99.08% of the relevant examples with *have* as a lexical verb. Therefore, as in the other corpora examined here, with the exception of the *LOB* and the *LLC* corpora (cf. Sections 3.4.1. and 3.5.1 above), instances like (327a-c) below seem to be favoured to a greater extent than those like (323) to (326) above. It is also noticeable that the frequency of negative examples with *do* in this corpus is the highest among the corpora studied in the preceding sections.

(327) a. *I think it has something to do with, you know -- I think there's more to it down here, but I* ***don't have*** *a clue.* (*CSPAE* Read Com 6A/97)

b. *Sandy, as you said earlier, the Bosnian government* ***doesn't have*** *at this stage an incentive to stop the fighting outside of Sarajevo since they are on the offensive.* (*CSPAE* WH95)

c. *But one of the things that we discovered is that students' perceptions of us are that they feel they* ***didn't have*** *the contacts with faculty compared to some of our primary competitor institutions.* (*CSPAE* North Carol 95)

The third operator analysed in this corpus is *will*. The distribution of the negative forms of this verb is provided in Table 96 below. As can be seen, the results obtained for *will* do not differ substantially from those found for *have*, since contractions continue to be the preferred option in all categories except WH 95, where UncN is the most frequent negative variant. As regards contractions, the operator *will* also favours the use of NotCs over OpeCs in all texts-types. In fact, no example of OpeCs with *will* has been recorded in *CSPAE*.

Table 96. Examples with the *will*-operator in *CSPAE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
Math Com 6/97	110,000	10 (0.9)	-	15 (1.36)	25
Read Com 6A/97	100,000	15 (1.5)	-	21 (2.1)	36
Read Com 6B/97	140,000	14 (1)	-	27 (1.92)	41
North Carol 95	51,000	4 (0.78)	-	12 (2.35)	16
North Carol 96	45,000	4 (0.88)	-	7 (1.55)	11
North Carol 97	66,000	10 (1.51)	-	12 (1.81)	22
WH 95	100,000	23 (2.3)	-	19 (1.9)	42
WH 97A	180,000	17 (0.94)	-	20 (1.11)	37
WH 97B	208,000	29 (1.39)	-	35 (1.68)	64
TOTAL	1,000,000	126 (1.26)	-	168 (1.68)	294

The data for the operator *would*, shown in Table 97 below, allow me to conclude that this operator also favours the use of contractions over UncNs in all categories with the exception of all texts belonging to North Carolina meeting,[77] that is, North Carol 95, North Carol 96 and North Carol 97, together with WH 95, where UncNs are, once again, the predominant type. Besides, concerning contractions, NotCs are the preferred contracted variant, since only two examples of the form *'d not* (both of them in example (328) below) have been recorded in Reading committee meeting (Read Com 6B/97).

(328) *I would like to propose that we eliminate biography from the informational pieces, since we have so few and since we end up with things like Sybill's Ride being a literary experience that we'**d not** have so much overlap and we'**d not** have biography, and then we*

[77] The predominance of full forms over contractions with the operator *would* in North Carolina texts could perhaps be related to dialect distinctions.

can fit in these other categories, because there is a much bigger domain. (*CSPAE* Read Com 6B/97)

Table 97. Occurrences with the *would*-operator in *CSPAE*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
Math Com 6/97	110,000	11 (1)	-	46 (4.18)	57
Read Com 6A/97	100,000	4 (0.4)	-	16 (1.6)	20
Read Com 6B/97	140,000	12 (0.85)	2 (0.14)	45 (3.21)	59
North Carol 95	51,000	6 (1.17)	-	5 (0.98)	11
North Carol 96	45,000	8 (1.77)	-	3 (0.66)	11
North Carol 97	66,000	7 (1.06)	-	5 (0.75)	12
WH 95	100,000	24 (2.4)	-	8 (0.8)	32
WH 97A	180,000	31 (1.72)	-	48 (2.66)	79
WH 97B	208,000	35 (1.68)	-	43 (2.06)	78
TOTAL	1,000,000	138 (1.38)	2 (0.02)	219 (2.19)	359

To summarise, in *CSPAE* contractions are more common than full forms with all operators analysed. Moreover, while OpeC is by far the most frequent negative variant with the *be*-operator, the three other verbs prefer the NotC type, the number of occurrences of OpeC being very low with the *have* and *would* operators and non-existent with *will*.

Let us move now to the examination of the potential influence of the type of subject. The data obtained for the different operators in *CSPAE* in accordance with this variable are shown in Table 98 below.

Table 98. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in *CSPAE*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	309 (3.09)	1,611 (16.11)	88 (0.88)	203 (2.03)	11 (0.11)	327 (3.27)	78 (0.78)	-	130 (1.3)	97 (0.97)	2 (0.02)	200 (2)	3,056 (30.56)
Pronoun													
Complex	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (0.02)
Simple	238 (2.38)	6 (0.06)	74 (0.74)	64 (0.64)	-	34 (0.34)	39 (0.39)	-	30 (0.3)	35 (0.35)	-	11 (0.11)	531 (5.31)
NP Complex	30 (0.3)	-	4 (0.04)	5 (0.05)	-	1 (0.01)	3 (0.03)	-	1 (0.01)	3 (0.03)	-	3 (0.03)	50 (0.5)
Compound	4 (0.04)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	5 (0.05)
Exist. *there*	28 (0.28)	37 (0.37)	21 (0.21)	4 (0.04)	-	11 (0.11)	3 (0.03)	-	6 (0.06)	3 (0.03)	-	5 (0.05)	118 (1.18)
Clause	25 (0.25)	-	21 (0.21)	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	30 (0.3)

As can be observed, most tokens are found with simple pronominal subjects, which prefer contractions, especially NotCs, with all operators except *be*, with which the most common choice is the OpeC variant. With the remaining subject-types, with the exception of existential *there*-constructions, UncNs are more common than contractions. Such a pattern of distribution could be related to the different degree of complexity of the elements functioning as subjects, since, as already mentioned, more complex subjects tend to correlate with a higher frequency of occurrence of uncontracted forms (cf., among others, Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123, Krug 1998: 289 or Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129f). In turn, clauses where the subject is the existential *there*, contractions, especially NotCs, are the predominant type with all operators, thus testifying to the tendency found from OE to PDE for this construction to favour the use of fused forms (cf. Section II.2. above).

As with the other corpora examined so far (cf. Sections 2.4. to 2.5.1. above), in order to analyse the potential influence of string frequency and its relation to subject-type in spoken AmE, I have selected two potentially contractible sequences, namely *he is not* (cf. examples under (329) below) and *the president is not* (cf. example (330) below), with a pronominal and a nominal subject respectively. A total of 47 instances with sequence *he is not* have been recorded, out of which 35 show one of the two contracted variants. By contrast, only 13 occurrences of the string *the president is not* have been found, but none of them is contracted. As these data show, once again, sequences which are more common (here those involving pronominal subjects) favour the use of contractions

to a greater extent than those which do not occur so frequently (in my case, those with a NP subject).

(329) a. ***He is not*** *satisfied and* ***he is not*** *in any sense or any fashion going to indicate that we are not committed to meeting our obligations.* (*CSPAE* WH95)

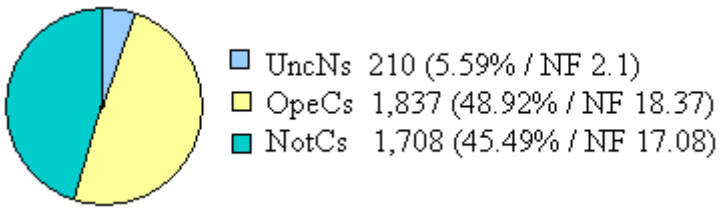
b. *I don't like to take Mike McCurry's name in vain when* ***he's not*** *here to defend himself, but I think Mike would love for them to go camping.* (*CSPAE* WH95)

(330) *And* ***the President is not*** *going to go there with an instant solution.* (*CSPAE* WH95)

3.5.3. The *Wellington Spoken Corpus* (*WSC*)

This section is concerned with the analysis of the variation between the three alternative forms of negation in spoken NzE. As mentioned in Section 3.3. above, the *WSC* contains 3,755 examples of the variants at issue. These 3,755 examples are distributed as follows: 210 for UncNs (NF 2.1), 1,837 for OpeCs (NF 18.37) and 1,708 for NotCs (NF 17.08), as shown in Figure 22 below.

Figure 22. UncN/OpeC/NotC distribution in *WSC*



The most significant conclusion to be drawn from this figure is that, in spoken NzE texts, contractions (NF 35.45) are clearly preferred to uncontracted forms (NF 2.1). Moreover, as regards contractions, OpeCs (NF 18.37) predominate over NotCs (NF 17.08). Thus, in general terms, the results from the analysis of the data

from spoken NzE are closer to those obtained for spoken AmE (cf. Section 3.5.2. above) than to those of spoken BrE (cf. Section 3.5.1.). However, this statement should be verified taking into account other factors, such as type of text, operator and type of subject. This is to what the following paragraphs will be devoted.

As concerns text-type, the distribution of the 3,755 examples recorded in *WSC* is given in Table 99 below.

Table 99. Negative examples according to text-type in the *WSC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
DGB	80,000	31 (3.87)	185 (23.12)	129 (16.12)	345
DGI	80,000	32 (4)	96 (12)	105 (13.12)	233
DGU	20,000	22 (11)	18 (9)	14 (7)	54
DGZ	100,000	28 (2.8)	220 (22)	185 (18.5)	433
DPC	500,000	43 (0.86)	1,060 (21.2)	984 (19.68)	2,087
DPF	70,000	9 (1.28)	128 (18.28)	134 (19.14)	271
DPH	20,000	3 (1.5)	22 (11)	20 (10)	45
DPP	30,000	1 (0.33)	27 (9)	39 (13)	67
MSN	20,000	4 (2)	2 (1)	23 (11.5)	29
MST	4,000	9 (22.5)	2 (5)	5 (12.5)	16
MSW	28,000	-	-	-	-
MUC	12,000	5 (4.16)	27 (22.5)	31 (25.83)	63
MUJ	24,000	4 (1.66)	4 (1.66)	-	8
MUL	10,000	16 (16)	32 (32)	24 (24)	72
MUS	2,000	3 (15)	14 (70)	15 (75)	32
TOTAL	1,000,000	210 (2.1)	1,837 (18.37)	1,708 (17.08)	3,755

As the data in this table evince, spoken NzE reveals an overall preference for contractions in all text-types, with the exception of Broadcast monologue (MST), where uncontracted forms predominate (NF 22.5 for full forms vs. 17.5 for

contractions), and Judge's summation (MUJ), where only UncNs and OpeCs have been identified and are alike in number (NF 1.66). In sum, in spoken NzE texts, even very formal categories, such as Parliamentary debate (DGU), favour the use of negative contractions (NF 11 for UncNs vs. 16 for contracted forms). It must be noted, however, that in this category the difference between full and contracted forms is not so conspicuous as in the most informal text-types, where the frequency of contractions is very high. Consider in this respect the NF per 10,000 words in MUS (Teacher monologue) (15 for UncNs vs. 145 for the two contracted variants), MUC (Sport commentary) (4.16 for uncontracted negatives vs. 48.33 for contracted ones) or DPC (Conversation) (0.86 vs. 40.88). As regards the selection of one of the two types of contractions, the data in Table 99 evince that in seven categories (DGI (Broadcast interview), DPF (Telephone conversation), DPP (Social dialect interview), MSN (Broadcast news), MST (Broadcast monologue), MUC (Sports commentary) and MUS (Teacher monologue), NotCs predominate over OpeCs. By contrast, in the remaining seven categories where occurrences of the negative variants under consideration have been recorded, OpeCs are preferred.

In what follows each operator will be analysed on its own. Table 100 below gives the distribution of occurrence of the three variants under analysis with the operator *be*. The most significant conclusion to be gained from this table is that the *be*-operator shows an overall tendency for negative contractions (NF 19.89 vs. UncNs 1.57). Such a preference is the strongest among the three spoken corpora (16.86 vs. 2.1 for UncNs in *LLC*, and 18.43 vs. 6.34 for UncNs in

CSPAE) (cf. Tables 80 and 90 in Sections 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. above, respectively). This tendency is corroborated by the analysis of individual text-types, since contractions predominate over uncontracted forms in all categories, except MUJ (Judge's summation), where UncNs and contractions (OpeCs) are evenly distributed (NF 1.66). Such a predominance is, nevertheless, especially noticeable in informal categories, such as DPC (Conversation) (35 instances of UncNs, NF 0.7 vs. 1,127 occurrences of contractions, NF 22.54) or MUS (Teacher monologue) (one example of UncN, NF 5 vs. 16 cases of contractions, NF 80), and DPP (Social dialect interview), where no full forms have been recorded.

Table 100. The operator *be* in *WSC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
DGB	80,000	25 (3.12)	182 (22.75)	25 (3.12)	232
DGI	80,000	25 (3.12)	96 (12)	18 (2.25)	139
DGU	20,000	13 (6.5)	18 (9)	2 (1)	33
DGZ	100,000	23 (2.3)	214 (21.4)	14 (1.4)	251
DPC	500,000	35 (0.7)	1,055 (21.1)	72 (1.44)	1,162
DPF	70,000	8 (1.14)	128 (18.28)	15 (2.14)	151
DPH	20,000	3 (1.5)	22 (11)	1 (0.5)	26
DPP	30,000	-	27 (9)	4 (1.33)	31
MSN	20,000	2 (1)	2 (1)	4 (2)	8
MST	4,000	3 (7.5)	2 (5)	4 (10)	9
MSW	28,000	-	-	-	-
MUC	12,000	4 (3.33)	27 (22.5)	3 (2.5)	34
MUJ	24,000	4 (1.66)	4 (1.66)	-	8
MUL	10,000	11 (11)	32 (32)	2 (2)	45
MUS	2,000	1 (5)	14 (70)	2 (10)	17
TOTAL	1,000,000	157 (1.57)	1,823 (18.23)	166 (1.66)	2,146

The analysis of individual text-types also confirms the general preference of *be* for OpeC, which is more frequent than NotC in most categories, with the exception of MSN (Broadcast news) and MST (Broadcast monologue), both of which contain a very low proportion of relevant negative forms. Notice also that 1,823 out of a total of 1,837 OpeCs in the whole corpus correspond to the operator *be*. As was the case with the *CSPAE*, this may explain the general preference of spoken NzE for OpeCs mentioned above when discussing the general data (cf. Table 99 above).

The predominance of OpeCs is also evident with individual forms of the verb. Thus, the three potentially contractible sequences of the *be*-operator analysed in this piece of research (*am not*, *are not* and *is not*) favour the use of OpeCs, not only over the variant contracted type, but also over full forms (four instances of UncNs vs. 404 for contractions with *am not*, 61 vs. 431 with *are not* and 92 vs. 1,154 with *is not*), as Table 101 below clearly shows. In this respect spoken NzE does not differ from spoken BrE and spoken AmE (cf. Sections 3.5.1. and 3.5.2. above). In *WSC*, two instances have been recorded of the form *ain't* corresponding to the operator *be* (*is not*), [78] both of them in Radio talkback (DGB). These are the following:

(331) *it's not he* ***ain't*** *heavy he's my brother* (*WSC*#DGB005:0295:HS)

(332) *i also understand that er that you know there are people who are never going to be able to make ends meet and it's easy for someone like me i have an income and I'm comfortable to sit here and pontificate on these sorts of subjects but glory be if the economy's*

[78]Two other instances with such a form correspond to the operator *have*, as seen below.

not working then it ***ain't*** *going to work for anybody* (*WSC*#DGB056:0880:HG)

Table 101. Individual forms of the *be*-operator in *WSC*

	Am not			***Are not***			***Is not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
DGB	2	43	-	12	48	10	11	91	15
DGI	-	13	-	9	26	3	16	57	15
DGU	-	6	-	5	5	-	8	7	2
DGZ	-	51	-	9	47	5	14	116	9
DPC	2	231	-	14	192	28	19	632	44
DPF	-	34	-	3	24	4	5	70	11
DPH	-	10	-	-	-	-	3	12	1
DPP	-	7	-	-	8	2	-	12	2
MSN	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	4
MST	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	3
MSW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MUC	-	1	-	2	6	-	2	20	3
MUJ	-	-	-	2	2	-	2	2	-
MUL	-	5	-	2	13	-	9	14	2
MUS	-	3	-	1	4	1	-	7	1
TOTAL	**4**	**404**	**-**	**61**	**377**	**54**	**92**	**1,042**	**112**

Another feature of the *be*-operator in spoken NzE which is common to its BrE counterpart (*LLC*) is the higher proportion of contracted forms of *be* as a lexical verb than as an auxiliary for both passive and progressive constructions (93.23% for main verb *be* vs. 91.31% for auxiliary *be*) (Cf. Table 102 below). In this respect my data confirm the assertions by Philips & Reynolds (1987) or Westergren (1998), *contra* Quirk *et al.*'s (1985: 123) statement.

Table 102. Lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *WSC*

		Full forms	Contractions		Total
Lexical *be*		104 (6.77%)	1,432 (93.23%)		1,536
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	27 (5.87%)	433 (94.13%)	557 (91.31%)	460
	Passive	26 (17.33%)	124 (82.67%)		150

As regards the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs with auxiliary and lexical verb *be*, no significant differences are detected between the *WSC* and its spoken companions *LLC* and *CSPAE*. As illustrated in Table 103 below, NotCs are more common with lexical *be* than with auxiliary *be*, while OpeCs are somewhat more frequent with auxiliary *be*. However, what is most noticeable in this corpus is that, unlike the written corpora, in *WSC*, NotCs seem to be preferred with passive than with progressive sentences, in clear contrast with the tendency found by Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129) in their data.

Table 103. OpeCs and NotCs with lexical *be* and auxiliary *be* in *WSC*

		OpeCs		NotCs		Total
Lexical *be*		1,302 (90.92%)		130 (9.08%)		1,432
Auxiliary *be*	Progressive	410 (94.69%)	521 (93.54%)	23 (5.31%)	36 (6.46%)	433
	Passive	111 (89.52%)		13 (10.48%)		124

The distribution of examples in *WSC* with the *have*-operator is shown in Table 104 below. Broadly speaking, this operator behaves in the same way as the previous one, since negative contractions (NF 7.58) are markedly preferred to full forms (NF 0.22). Moreover, contractions are the only alternative variant in DPF (Telephone conversations), DPH (Oral history interviews) and MUS (Teacher

monologue). However, in contrast to the operator *be*, NotCs are more commonly used than OpeCs in all text-types, thus confirming my expectations. As a matter of fact, OpeCs with *have* are found in only 13 examples in the whole corpus (NF 0.13). All this leads me to conclude that, in spoken NzE, the selection of one of the three variants under consideration with the operator *have* is not necessarily related to the degree of formality of the texts, since contractions, mainly NotCs, are favoured not only in informal texts, such as Conversation (DPC), but also in more formal categories, such as Parliamentary debate (DGU).

Table 104. Instances with the *have*-operator in *WSC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
DGB	80,000	2 (0.25)	3 (0.37)	46 (5.75)	51
DGI	80,000	4 (0.5)	-	48 (6)	52
DGU	20,000	3 (1.5)	-	6 (3)	9
DGZ	100,000	3 (0.3)	5 (0.5)	96 (9.6)	104
DPC	500,000	2 (0.04)	5 (0.1)	422 (8.44)	429
DPF	70,000	-	-	61 (8.71)	61
DPH	20,000	-	-	6 (3)	6
DPP	30,000	1 (0.33)	-	16 (5.33)	17
MSN	20,000	1 (0.5)	-	5 (2.5)	6
MST	4,000	3 (7.5)	-	1 (2.5)	4
MSW	28,000	-	-	-	-
MUC	12,000	1 (0.83)	-	17 (14.16)	18
MUJ	24,000	-	-	-	-
MUL	10,000	2 (2)	-	12 (12)	14
MUS	2,000	-	-	9 (45)	9
TOTAL	1,000,000	22 (0.22)	13 (0.13)	745 (7.45)	780

The only category where the preference for contracted forms does not hold true is Broadcast monologue (MST), where UncNs (NF. 7.5), as in (333) below, are more frequent than contractions (NotCs, NF 2.5), as in (334).

(333) *parents* ***have not*** *saved and invested for this generational expense as they do in the united states* (*WSC*#MST030:0380:JR)

(334) *their world is upstairs a nursery their experience of larger society is so new that they* ***haven't*** *yet fully comprehended a difference between real things and not real ones* (*WSC*#MST043:0375:KC)

As in the case of the operator *be*, all the individual forms of *have* also prefer contractions to full forms (cf. Table 105 below).

Table 105. Individual forms of the *have*-operator in *WSC*

	Have not			***Has not***			***Had not***		
	UncN	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**	**UncN**	**OpeC**	**NotC**
DGB	-	-	36	2	3	4	-	-	6
DGI	3	-	27	1	-	10	-	-	11
DGU	1	-	6	1	-	-	1	-	-
DGZ	2	3	75	1	2	14	-	-	7
DPC	2	1	278	-	4	84	-	-	60
DPF	-	-	45	-	-	11	-	-	5
DPH	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	1
DPP	-	-	13	1	-	-	-	-	3
MSN	-	-	1	1	-	4	-	-	-
MST	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-
MSW	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MUC	-	-	6	1	-	10	-	-	1
MUJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MUL	1	-	7	1	-	1	-	-	4
MUS	-	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	**10**	**4**	**507**	**9**	**9**	**140**	**3**	**-**	**98**

Nevertheless, the difference between full forms and contractions is higher with the string *have not* (ten instances of UncNs vs. 511 of the contracted type) than with the two other sequences (nine UncNs vs. 149 contractions of *has not* and three vs. 98 of *had not*). As mentioned in footnote 81 above, two examples have been identified in *WSC* of the form *ain't* referring to *have*, both of them in Conversation (DPC). These are (177) above, repeated here for convenience as (335), and (336) below.[79]

(335) *it **ain't** seen nothing in it yeah* (*WSC*#DPC330:1650:AY)
(336) *oh well you got you've got it or you **ain't**.* (*WSC*#DPC213:0390:BY)

In example (336) the form *ain't* stands for *haven't* (*got*). The total number of negative examples with the construction *have got* in *WSC* amounts to 158, which corresponds to 20.25% (NF 1.58) of the total of examples with negative *have* in the corpus. This implies that, in spoken NzE, the construction *have got* is very commonly used, especially in its contracted variants (113 instances). In this respect, spoken NzE behaves like spoken BrE (cf. Section 3.5.1. above) and not like its AmE counterpart (cf. Section 3.5.2.).

As already mentioned, examples (335) and (336) are taken from the most informal text-type in the corpus, namely Conversation (DPC). Both the use of *ain't* and of the *have got* construction are more likely to occur in texts of this kind than in more formal categories. Another feature closely related to the informal style found in *WSC* is the occurrence of double clitic forms (cf. Section 3.4.1. above). A total of eight instances have been recorded, three of them with the

[79] Example (177), together with examples (176), (178) and (179) in Section 3.4.1. above, are the only instances of double negation found in *WSC*.

operator *have* (cf. examples (206), (207) and (208) above), and five with *would* (cf. examples (201), (202), (203), (204) and (205) above), all of them repeated here for convenience as (337) to (344).

(337) *a lot of other members of opposition re research unit* ***haven't've*** *been.* (*WSC*#DGU019:0280:??)

(338) *if it* ***hadn't've*** *been for the um crusaders probably i wouldn't have got all that interested in tramping.* (*WSC*#DPC079:0840:BD)

(339) *an interesting rule in this game as well that even if the touch* ***hadn't've*** *been made brendan she wouldn't have been able to score because of this competition under these rules the dummy half can't score.* (*WSC*#MUC024:0990:KL)

(340) *no i think he stopped smoking at eighty and he lived to ninety which he* ***wouldn't've*** *lived to otherwisee.* (*WSC*#DGB051:0905:HE)

(341) *yes we've we've been fortunate enough to have some of the women who've been in our whare at the time who went and saw the movie and some of the things that they talked about was that um um they did have er dungy friends like um like the woman who came in and said is that a result of one hell of an orgasm or what you know the day after beth had got a hiding and er we had a bit of a giggle about that and they said yes we do have friends who say silly things like that like girl if you'd just shut your mouth and um put up with it if you just if you know if you didn't open your mouth then you* ***wouldn't've*** *got that hiding.* (*WSC*#DGI157:0115:PK)

(342) *he he* ***wouldn't've*** *had okay so.* (*WSC*#DGZ072:0360:WL)

(343) *she said japanese boys* ***wouldn't've*** *<unclear>word</unclear>.* (*WSC*#DPC123:0715:VV)

(344) *they would've given shepherd would've given the money to stansfield whether he thought hill was a partner or not so that was that was the problem that's why it wouldn't fit and because really <unclear>word</unclear> they decided there was no hole in the <unclear>word</unclear> case um there* ***wouldn't've*** *been a*

> *successful um action under three either because in order to fit under the <unclear>word</unclear> rules you have to be holding yourself out um and the person has to be something on reliance of this holding out and of course they couldn't fit this either so we'll look at a case where this fits and that doesn't after.* (*WSC*#MUL005:0325:YR)

As regards the distribution of uncontracted negatives and negative contractions with *have* as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary for the perfect, there is no significant difference between this corpus and the previous ones. Here lexical *have* favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than as an auxiliary (98.87% lexical *have* vs. 96.68% auxiliary *have*). It is worth noting, however, that the data in *WSC* are similar to those of *FLOB* and *FROWN*, since both OpeCs and NotCs are more numerous when the operator *have* functions as a main verb (2.26% with lexical *have* vs. 1.49% with auxiliary *have* for OpeCs; 96.61% vs. 95.19%, respectively, for NotCs). Besides, as in the preceding corpora, the verb *have* functioning as a lexical verb can also be negated with the auxiliary *do*, as in the examples under (345) below. Once again, in spoken NzE such a pattern is more commonly used than the one without the dummy auxiliary (312 instances with *do*, 63.8%, vs. 177 with the negative forms of *have*, 36.2%) (cf. Bauer 1994: 400 and Hundt 1998). These data do not differ too much from those obtained in *FLOB* (cf. Section 3.4.2.), *BROWN* (cf. Section 3.4.3.), *FROWN* (cf. Section 3.4.4.), *ACE* (cf. Section 3.4.5.), *WWC* (cf. Section 3.4.6.) and *CSPAE* (cf. Section 3.5.2.). However, the proportional difference between the two variants indicates that spoken NzE behaves similarly to written BrE from the 1990s.

(345) a. *we **don't have** the lists* (*WSC*#DGZ037:0060:SA)

b. *prime minister jim bolger has been in wanganui saying new zealand can't forever spend what it **doesn't have** and it's time for everyone to face facts* (*WSC*#MSN132:0285:DV)

c. *for a long time they were limited to quite light sandy soils because they **didn't have** steel er spades or anything like that to cultivate with and they used um quite hard wood er digging sticks* (*WSC*#DGI038:0080:HL)

The data for *will* in *WSC* yield interesting results (cf. Table 106 below). As with *be* and have, contractions (NF 3.43) are preferred to a greater extent than UncNs (NF 0.13), which show a very low number of occurrences in almost all categories (13 examples in all), with the exception of Parliamentary debate (DGU), where the number of UncNs (NF 2.5) is higher than that of contractions (NF 0.5), and category MST (Broadcast monologue), where there is no evidence of contractions. Besides, in DGB (Radio talkback), DPF (Telephone conversations), DPH (Oral history interviews), DPP (Social dialect interview), MUC (Sports commentary) and MUL (Lecture), NotCs are the only variant present. Another peculiarity of the *will*-operator in *WSC* is its lack of OpeCs. This means that, in those categories where the variation between full forms and contracted ones is recorded with *will* in spoken NzE, the only possible variants are full forms, as in example (346), and NotCs, as in (367) below.

(346) *if you do not then you **will not** be getting a MARK or a very good mark at the end of the year because ALL those marks add up and THAT with your two school exams is how we come up with your school cert mark* (*WSC*#MUS003:0270:TT)

(347) *but i'm quite sure that the people of birkenhead* ***won't*** *accept a policeman as their political representative* (*WSC*#DGU012:0375:JK)

Table 106. Examples with the *will*-operator in *WSC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
DGB	80,000	-	-	18 (2.25)	18
DGI	80,000	1 (0.12)	-	13 (1.62)	14
DGU	20,000	5 (2.5)	-	1 (0.5)	6
DGZ	100,000	1 (0.1)	-	41 (4.1)	42
DPC	500,000	2 (0.04)	-	198 (3.96)	200
DPF	70,000	-	-	36 (5.14)	36
DPH	20,000	-	-	2 (1)	2
DPP	30,000	-	-	7 (2.33)	7
MSN	20,000	1 (0.5)	-	12 (6)	13
MST	4,000	2 (5)	-	-	2
MSW	28,000	-	-	-	-
MUC	12,000	-	-	6 (5)	6
MUJ	24,000	-	-	-	-
MUL	10,000	-	-	6 (6)	6
MUS	2,000	1 (5)	-	3 (15)	4
TOTAL	1,000,000	13 (0.13)	-	343 (3.43)	356

The last operator analysed in relation to text-types is *would*. The distribution of the examples found in *WSC* with this verb is given in Table 107 below. Once again, *would* shows a clear predominance of contractions (455 examples, NF 4.55) over UncNs (18 examples, NF 0.18). However, not all text-types favour the use of fused forms. Thus, in MST (Broadcast monologue) the only relevant example found is a case of UncN (cf. example (348) below), while in MUS

(Teacher monologue) two examples have been recorded, one with an UncN and another showing a NotC (cf. examples (349) and (350) below).

Table 107. Occurrences with the *would*-operator in *WSC*

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
DGB	80,000	4 (0.5)	-	40 (5)	44
DGI	80,000	2 (0.25)	-	26 (3.25)	28
DGU	20,000	1 (0.5)	-	5 (2.5)	6
DGZ	100,000	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	34 (3.4)	36
DPC	500,000	4 (0.08)	-	292 (5.84)	296
DPF	70,000	1 (0.14)	-	22 (3.14)	23
DPH	20,000	-	-	11 (5.5)	11
DPP	30,000	-	-	12 (4)	12
MSN	20,000	-	-	2 (1)	2
MST	4,000	1 (2.5)	-	-	1
MSW	28,000	-	-	-	-
MUC	12,000	-	-	5 (4.16)	5
MUJ	24,000	-	-	-	-
MUL	10,000	3 (3)	-	4 (4)	7
MUS	2,000	1 (5)	-	1 (5)	2
TOTAL	1,000,000	18 (0.18)	1 (0.01)	454 (4.54)	473

Moreover, OpeCs with *would* are practically non-existent in *WSC* (only one example in Transactions and meetings (DGZ); cf. example (351) below). Also noteworthy is the high number of contractions found in Conversation (DPC) (292 examples), a feature also shared by the *have* and *will* operators (cf. Tables 105 and 106 above, respectively).

(348) *you may associate her with the english literary context of d h lawrence john middleton murray virginia woolf and lady ottoline morrell and you* ***would not*** *be wrong* (*WSC*#MST043:0050:KC)

(349) *most of you in this class* ***would not*** *and you will need to work well would not do as well as you will do when you've got when you work steadily throughout the year* (*WSC*#MUS003:0285:TT)[80]

(350) *you're SO purified and sensitive that i* ***wouldn't*** *WANT any contact with with this man's body catherine* (*WSC*#MUS001:0285:FG)

(351) *and they buy it in obviously for um for their own purposes for making waistcoats for suits and stuff like that and there there****'d not*** *there wouldn't i think be a place that you could buy it on a retail basis* (*WSC*#DGZ111:0085:SF)

To summarise so far, in spoken NzE contracted forms are preferred to a greater extent than full forms with all operators, although the frequency of contractions is higher with *be* than with the remaining verbs. Moreover, all operators except *be* favour the use of NotCs to OpeCs, thus confirming what has been mentioned in the literature by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among others (cf. Sections II.3.2.3.1. and II.4.1. above).

The last factor considered in the analysis of this corpus is the type of subject. Consider in this respect the data in Table 108 below. Concerning the selection of contractions and full forms, no significant differences can be detected as regards subject-types, since contractions are preferred to UncNs in all cases, except with complex NP subjects with the operator *be*. However, the low number of examples recorded for this subject-type do not allow to draw definite conclusions. What is significant here is the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs with

[80] The second occurrence of *would not* recorded in this example has not been included in the total count, since OpeC is not allowed in such a context. It is therefore included in the group of KO contexts for OpeCs (cf. Section 3.2.1. above).

the operator *be*. Although there is an overall predominance of OpeC over NotC with this verb, the latter contracted type is more frequent with simple NP subjects (53 examples of OpeCs vs. 64 of NotCs). By contrast, with simple pronominal subjects OpeCs are preferred (1,706 occurrences of OpeCs vs. 56 of NotCs).

Finally, as regards string frequency, those potentially contractible sequences which are more numerous in the corpus are also the ones which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent. Thus, as in the preceding corpora, in spoken NzE fairly frequent strings, such as *he is not* (cf. examples under (352) below), which appears in *WSC* 78 times, exhibit a high degree of contraction, 76 examples (97.44%). In contrast, more complex sequences, such as *the price is not* (cf. example (353) below), occur less commonly (only three times) and always show a full form. The *WSC* data, thus, serve to confirm the relevance of string frequency to the variation between contracted and uncontracted forms (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above and Krug 1998).

(352) a. ***he is not*** *beautiful* ***he's not*** *beautiful but he's HANDSOME.* (WSC#DPC206:1655:JM)

b. *he he really sounded as as if he was unbalanced and er i i think* ***he's not*** *suited to the job.* (WSC#DGB023:0180:Z1)

(353) *right well if you buy something and* ***the price is not*** *set or discussed in advance then the guarantee is that you need only pay a reasonable price* (*WSC*#DGI158:0235:AW)

Table 108. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in *WSC*

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple	71 (0.71)	1,706 (17.06)	56 (0.56)	8 (0.08)	11 (0.11)	684 (6.84)	8 (0.08)	-	292 (2.92)	15 (0.15)	-	404 (4.04)	3,255 (32.55)
Pronoun													
Complex	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (0.01)
Simple	71 (0.71)	53 (0.53)	64 (0.64)	13 (0.13)	-	54 (0.54)	4 (0.04)	-	43 (0.43)	3 (0.03)	-	38 (0.38)	343 (3.43)
NP Complex	5 (0.05)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	2 (0.02)	1 (0.01)	-	3 (0.03)	-	-	2 (0.02)	14 (0.14)
Compound	-	-	2 (0.02)	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 (0.04)
Exist. *there*	3 (0.03)	64 (0.64)	35 (0.35)	-	2 (0.02)	3 (0.03)	-	-	4 (0.04)	-	1 (0.01)	9 (0.09)	121 (1.21)
Clause	6 (0.06)	-	8 (0.08)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	17 (0.17)

3.5.4. Summary

The data from the three spoken corpora analysed in the preceding sections show that contracted forms are preferred to a greater extent than the uncontracted variant in the spoken medium. As far as contractions are concerned, NotCs predominate over OpeCs only in BrE, while OpeCs are the prevailing contracted type both in AmE and in NzE. This is probably so due to the large number of examples with the verb *be* which have been recorded in the *CSPAE* and the *WSC* corpora.

As regards text-types, in the spoken texts of the three dialects under consideration, contractions are the predominant type of negation, not only in the less formal categories, but also in the most formal ones.

Concerning the behaviour of individual operators, contractions turn out to be the most frequent way of negation with all verbs and in all dialects. As regards the two types of fused forms, spoken BrE, AmE and NzE show an overall preference for NotCs to OpeCs with all operators except *be*.

Finally, as regards the distribution of negative forms according to the type of subject, it must be noted that contractions, mainly NotCs, are the most frequent variant with all kinds of subject, with the exception of NPs with all operators in *CSPAE*, with which UncNs outnumber contractions.

3.6. Comparisons across Corpora

This section is devoted to the comparison of the results obtained from the individual analyses of the nine corpora under study presented in Sections 3.4. and 3.5. above. These comparisons allow me to establish: (a) diachronic differences and similarities from the 1960s to the 1990s between the two written BrE corpora, *LOB* and *FLOB* (Section 3.6.1.1. below) and between the two written AmE corpora, *BROWN* and *FROWN* (Section 3.6.1.2.); (b) dialectal differences and similarities between all the written corpora, on the one hand (Section 3.6.2.1.), and all the spoken corpora (Section 3.6.2.2.), on the other; and, finally, (c) differences and similarities regarding medium, i.e. written vs. spoken texts from different dialects dating from the same time span (Section 3.6.3.), such as *LLC* vs. *LOB* and *FLOB* (Section 3.6.3.1.), *CSPAE* vs. *FROWN* (Section 3.6.3.2.), and *WSC* vs. *WWC* (Section 3.6.3.3.).

3.6.1. Changes over Time: from the 1960s to the 1990s

It is generally acknowledged that all living languages are constantly subject to change over time. The variation between contracted and uncontracted negative variants should, therefore, not be an exception in this respect. The sections which follow will be concerned with the differences and similarities in written BrE (Section 3.6.1.1.) and in AmE (Section 3.6.1.2.) in the course of the last decades of the twentieth century.

3.6.1.1. Diachronic Comparison between the Written British English Corpora: *LOB* vs. *FLOB*

As seen in Sections 3.4.1. and 3.4.2. above, the *LOB* corpus contains a larger number of examples of negative constructions with the four operators which allow the three alternatives to negate than the *FLOB* (1,790 vs. 1,728). However, the latter corpus shows more negative contractions, 682 (NF 6.82) in *FLOB* vs. 519 (NF 5.19) in *LOB* (cf. Tables 19 and 29 above). Thus, we witness here a considerable increase in the use of contractions on the part of BrE speakers in the course of the second half of the twentieth century. Both OpeCs and NotCs exhibit a moderate advance, from 1.23 to 2.08 in the case of OpeCs and from 3.96 to 4.74 in the case of NotCs.

As regards individual text-types, the tendency just described applies to most text-categories. The most drastic decline of uncontracted forms from the 1960s to the 1990s is found in some fictional categories, namely category K (NF 12.41 in *LOB* vs. 4.13 in *FLOB*), category M (NF 9.16 in *LOB* vs. 5 in *FLOB*) and category R (NF 12.22 vs. 3.33). By contrast, in Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L) and Romance and love story (Cat P), there is a parallel advance of UncNs in the texts from the 1990s than in their counterparts from the 1960s, as seen in Table 109 below:

Table 109. UncNs in categories J, L and P in *LOB* and *FLOB*

	LOB	*FLOB*
Cat J	NF 12.43	NF 13.87
Cat L	NF 5.62	NF 6.04
Cat P	NF 7.75	NF 9.82

The only exceptions to the trend correspond to the following groups:

(a) Religion (Cat D), where the number of contractions (both OpeCs and NotCs) is considerably lower in the 1990s than in the 1960s (OpeCs NF 1.76 and NotCs 2.35 in *LOB* vs. OpeCs NF 0.29 and NotCs 0.58 in *FLOB*).

(b) Popular lore (Cat F) and Adventure and western fiction (Cat N), where NotCs are less numerous in *FLOB* than in *LOB* (NotCs NF 2.95 and 11.03, respectively in *LOB* vs. NF 2.15 in F and 9.48 in *FLOB*).

(c) In category P (Romance and love story), there is a decrease of NotCs in the most recent corpus (NF 17.24 in *LOB* vs. 12.06 in *FLOB*).

(d) The only text-type which resists the introduction of contracted forms even in the 1990s is Miscellaneous (Cat H) (no instances in either corpus), due to obvious reasons of formality.

Furthermore, concerning the two contracted types, the categories showing a more significant increase of the OpeC variant are General Fiction (Cat K), Romance and love story (Cat P), Mystery and detective fiction (Cat L), Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), as seen in the following Table:

Table 110. OpeCs in categories K, P, L, E and J in *LOB* and *FLOB*

LOB		*FLOB*
NF 1.72	Cat K	NF 7.06
NF 5.51	Cat P	NF 8.1
NF 4.37	Cat L	NF 6.66
-	Cat E	NF 1.18
-	Cat J	NF 0.18

As regards NotCs, all text-types except D, F, N and P show a larger number of occurrences in the 1990s than in the 1960s. Clear instances of the increase of NotCs in the course of time can be found both in formal text-types, such as categories B (Press editorial) or C (Press Review), and in more informal categories, such as K (General fiction), L (Mystery and detective fiction) and R (Humour), as seen in Table 111 below, though the rise of such forms is much more conspicuous in the latter type of text.

Table 111. NotCs in categories B, C, K, L and R in *LOB* and *FLOB*

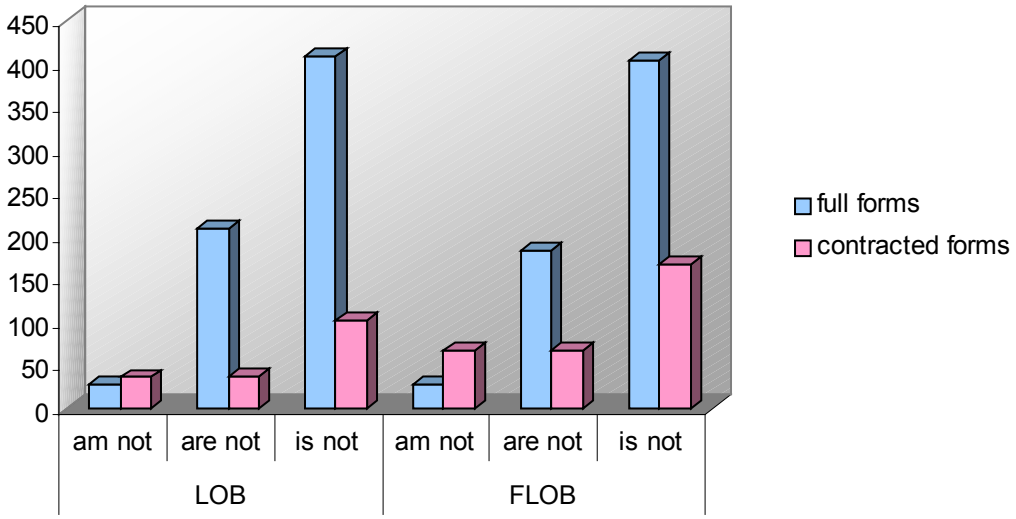
LOB		*FLOB*
NF 0.92	Cat B	NF 4.44
NF 2.05	Cat C	NF 4.11
NF 1	Cat K	NF 15
NF 14.37	Cat L	NF 21.45
NF 3.38	Cat R	NF 10.55

The second feature relevant to the comparison between the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora is the distribution of examples according to operator and text-type. In relation to the *be*-operator (cf. Tables 20 and 30 above), the number of contractions is also higher in *FLOB* than in *LOB* (NF 1.74 in *LOB* vs. 3.03 in *FLOB*). In the 1990s there are less UncNs than in the 1960s in all text-types,

except in categories J, L, N and P. In the latter three (fictional) categories, however, we also witness a moderate increase of contracted forms. The decrease in number of UncNs from the 1960s to the 1990s is very conspicuous in an informal category such as Humour (Cat R) (NF 7.22 in *LOB* vs. 1.66 in *FLOB*). Moreover, the advance of the two contracted variants with the operator *be* is somewhat more noticeable for OpeCs (NF 1.08 vs. 1.94) than for NotCs (NF 0.66 vs. 1.09). This is especially obvious in some text-types, such as General fiction (Cat K), where OpeCs increase from 1.72 to 6.72 in contrast to NotCs, which show a more modest advance (NF 2.24 vs. 3.27).

Regarding individual forms of the *be*-operator, some differences and similarities have been detected between written BrE from the 1960s and its 1990s counterpart (cf. Tables 21 and 31 above). Firstly, in both corpora the selection of full forms and contractions with the three sequences under consideration (*am not*, *are not*, and *is not*) is similar, since the potentially contractible strings *are not* and *is not* prefer full forms while the contracted variant is more frequent with the form *am not*, as illustrated in Figure 23 below. The main difference between the two corpora is that, as far as contractions are concerned, the preference for OpeCs holds true for the three sequences in the *FLOB* corpus, while in *LOB* the string *is not* favours the use of NotCs rather than OpeCs (45 OpeCs vs. 58 NotCs). Also noticeable is the increase in the use of the form *ain't*, both referring to the *be* and *have* operators, from the 1960s to the 1990s (four examples in *LOB* vs. nine in *FLOB*). Nevertheless, the low number of instances recorded with such a form in the two corpora do not allow me to draw definite conclusions in this respect.

Figure 23. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *LOB* and *FLOB*

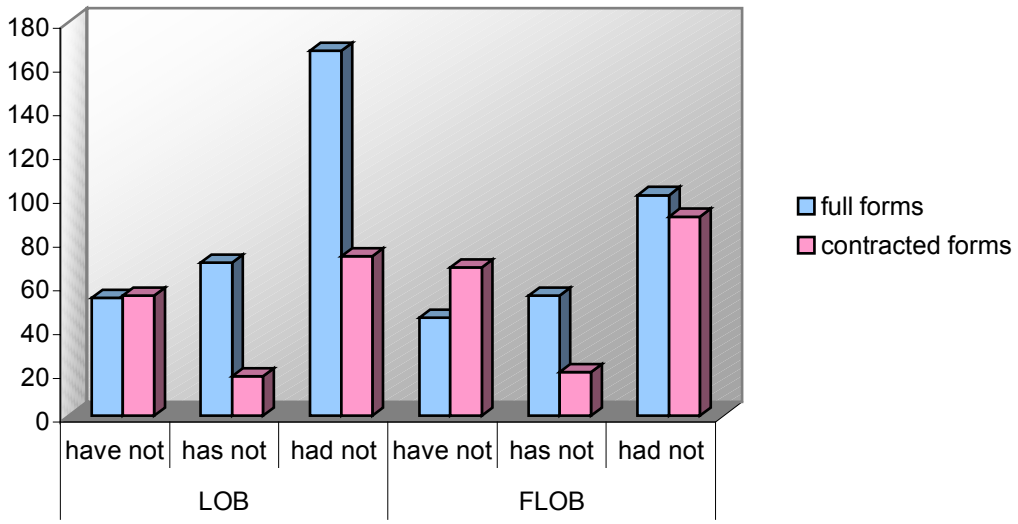


Concerning the distribution of contraction with the lexical verb *be* and with *be* as an auxiliary, *LOB* and *FLOB* behave differently. As shown in Tables 22 and 32 above, the former corpus favours the use of contractions with auxiliary *be* (20.3% with auxiliary *be* vs. 18.91% with main verb *be*), while in the latter contractions occur more commonly with the lexical verb *be* (30.57% vs. 33.66%, respectively). In both corpora, however, contractions are preferred with *be* as an auxiliary for the progressive than as an auxiliary for the passive. Regarding the choice between the two contracted variants under study with lexical and auxiliary *be*, both corpora yield similar results, since NotCs are more likely to occur with lexical *be*, while OpeCs are the predominant contracted variant with *be* as an auxiliary. As far as the use of the auxiliary *be* is concerned, in both *LOB* and *FLOB*, NotCs are favoured to a greater extent with passive *be* than when *be* is an auxiliary for progressive constructions, which prefer, OpeCs in both corpora.

With the *have*-operator, we also witness a decline of UncNs and a parallel advance of contracted forms in the last decades of the twentieth century, though the change is not so strongly marked as in the case of *be* (cf. Tables 24 and 34 above). The greatest increase affects NotCs (from NF 1.39 to 1.71). In turn, the number of OpeCs is very low in both corpora (only seven instances in *LOB* and eight in *FLOB*), most of them occurring in the most informal text-types, i.e. fictional categories. The decline of the full variant from the 1960s to the 1990s also holds true in most text-types, with the exception of categories B (Press editorial), E (Skills, trades and hobbies) and L (Mystery and detective fiction). Another important conclusion drawn from the data with *have* in these corpora is the preference for contractions in texts from the 1990s in categories such as K (General fiction), M (Science fiction) and R (Humour), where UncNs are preferred in the *LOB* corpus. The most prominent decrease of UncNs and also the greatest increase of contractions is found in an informal category, namely General fiction (Cat K) (NF 6.2 vs. 1.55 for UncNs and NF 2.41 vs. 6.71 for contractions).

As for the operator *be*, the selection of contractions and full forms in both the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora varies when dealing with individual grammatical forms (cf. Figure 24 below and Tables 25 and 36 above). As can be seen, UncNs are more frequent than contractions in both corpora with the forms *has not* (70 UncNs vs. 18 contractions in *LOB* and 55 vs. 20 in *FLOB*) and *had not* (167 UncNs vs. 73 contractions in *LOB* and 101 vs. 91 in *FLOB*). By contrast, with the sequence *have not*, the contracted variants outnumber the full forms (54 UncNs vs. 55 contractions in *LOB* and 45 vs. 68 in *FLOB*).

Figure 24. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *have*-operator in *LOB* and *FLOB*



As in the case of the previous operator, the selection of *have* as an auxiliary or as a main verb conditions the selection of contractions. In both *LOB* and *FLOB* contractions are mainly used when it is a lexical verb rather than when it functions as an auxiliary. In this connection, my data contrast with the statements mentioned in the literature (cf., for instance, Sinclair (1990: 453) and Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129)) that contractions are preferred with auxiliary *have*.

An important difference between BrE from the 1960s and that from the 1990s concerns the choice of negative pattern with the lexical verb *have*. Thus, while the use of *do*-support is not very common in *LOB* (only 20% of the relevant forms), in the *FLOB* corpus the balance is reversed in favour of the *do* + *not* + *have* construction (68.83%).

As regards *will*, the results obtained from the *LOB* and the *FLOB* corpora reveal the existence of important differences between this operator and the others considered so far. The most significant features of the development of the negative forms of *will* in written BrE from the 1960s to the 1990s are (cf. Tables 26 and 36):

(a) In contrast to the operators *be* and *have*, the proportion of UncNs for *will* is slightly higher in *FLOB* than in the *LOB* corpus (NF 1 vs. 1.14), and the number of contractions, mainly NotCs, is somewhat lower in the 1990s (NF 1.01 vs. 0.94). Individual categories illustrating these parallel developments are F, J and P.

(b) The number of categories which allow contracted forms also decreases from the 1960s to the 1990s. Thus, in *FLOB* four different categories show no contractions at all. These are Press review (Cat C), Religion (Cat D), Miscellaneous (Cat H) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J). In *LOB*, by contrast, only category H contains exclusively UncNs.

(c) The very few examples of OpeCs in both corpora (five instances in *LOB* and six in *FLOB*) occur in the same text-types, namely the fictional categories L, N and P.

The comparison of the data in Tables 27 and 37 above reveals the most significant changes in the behaviour of *would* in BrE between the 1960s and the 1990s. The first important feature to be noted is that, in both corpora, UncNs predominate over contractions. However, the proportional difference between

contracted and uncontracted forms is somewhat higher in *LOB* (1.54 for UncNs vs. 0.98 for contractions) than in *FLOB* (1.16 vs. 1.06). Therefore, the general trend described above towards an increase of contractions at the expense of uncontracted forms in the course of time is also witnessed in the case of *would*. Clear illustrations of this tendency are to be found in categories A, E, G, and especially in the fictional types K and L. The opposite behaviour is, nevertheless, detected in some categories, both formal and informal, such as D, M and N, for which the *FLOB* contains more UncNs and less contractions than the *LOB*. Finally, another feature which has attracted my attention is that the *FLOB* corpus shows no examples of OpeCs at all, in contrast to the *LOB* corpus, where OpeCs with *would* are attested, though only occasionally (three examples, NF 0.03).

The last comparison established between the *LOB* and the *FLOB* corpora is related to the type of subject. As the data in Tables 28 and 38 reveal, most tokens are found with simple pronominal subjects. With this subject-type, noticeable differences are detected between written BrE from the 1960s and from the 1990s. Thus, while in *LOB* all operators except *will* prefer UncNs with subjects of this kind, in *FLOB* UncNs predominate over contractions only with the operator *be*. In this respect, written BrE from the 1960s behaves contrary to my expectations, since it is generally accepted that pronominal subjects seem to favour the use of contractions (cf. among others, Quirk *et al*. 1985: 123, Krug 1997: 289 or Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129f). The overall preference for UncNs over contractions in written BrE also applies to more complex types of subjects; for instance, with clausal subjects, both *LOB* and *FLOB* favour the use of UncNs. The

only exception to this general trend concerns existential clauses with *there* as subject. In clauses of this kind, the data found in *LOB* differ from those in *FLOB*, since in the former contractions are preferred with all operators except with *have*. By contrast, in *FLOB* only the *be*-operator favours the use of contractions in existential clauses.

Finally, as regards the potential influence of string frequency, both corpora behave in a similar way, since those sequences which are more numerous are also those showing a higher ratio of contracted forms (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above). Therefore, sequences like *he is not* (60 instances in all, out of which 21, 35% are contracted) favour the use of fused forms to a greater extent than strings like *man is not* (six examples in all, none contracted).

3.6.1.2. Diachronic Comparison between the Written American English Corpora: *BROWN* vs. *FROWN*

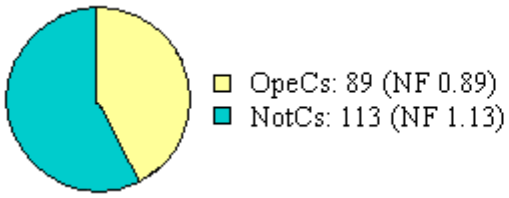
In this section, I will compare the results obtained from the analysis of the two AmE corpora of written texts, the *BROWN* corpus from the 1960s and the *FROWN* corpus from the 1990s. The comparison of the data in Tables 39 and 49 reveals that the general picture presented above for the BrE variety also holds for AmE, since the proportion of UncNs is reduced from the 1960s to the 1990s (NF 10.54 vs. 9.48), while that of contractions rises from NF 5.6 to 8.89. In this connection, the written American English corpora and their BrE counterparts show a parallel diachronic development, similar to that obtained by Mair (2002) in his analysis of the distribution of the bare and the *to*-infinitive as complements

of the verb *help* in the *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *FROWN* corpora. Such a decrease of UncNs and the parallel increase of contractions are noticeable both in formal (e.g. categories B, C or E) and in informal (e.g. K, M, P or R) text-types. In all of them, except in P and in R, UncNs predominate over contractions in the *BROWN* corpus, while in *FROWN* contractions are more common than uncontracted forms. The general increase in the use of contractions in AmE in the latter part of the twentieth century is also witnessed in very formal texts, such as Miscellaneous (Cat H), which shows no evidence of contractions in the 1960s, while in the 1990s the frequency of contracted forms amounts to 1.99. As regards the choice between the two kinds of contractions, it must be noted that both OpeCs and NotCs increase from the 1960s to the 1990s, NotC being the predominant type in both decades in all kinds of texts, except in Religion (Cat D) in *BROWN*, where OpeCs and NotCs are alike in number, and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J) in *FROWN*, where OpeCs are somewhat more common than NotCs.

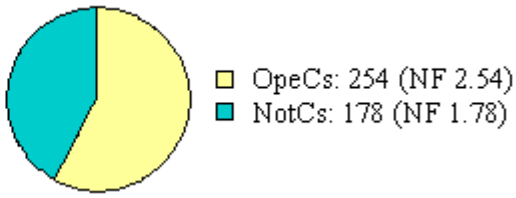
Concerning individual operators, significant results have been obtained, especially for *be*. First of all, as can be seen in Tables 40 and 50 above, this operator also shows fewer UncNs (NF 6.08 vs. 6.04) and more contractions (NF 2.02 vs. 4.32) in the 1990s than in the 1960s. Moreover, while in the *BROWN* corpus NotCs are the preferred contracted variant, in *FROWN* OpeCs (NF 2.54) outnumber NotCs (NF 1.78). The difference between the two AmE corpora is shown graphically in Figures (25a-b) below.

Figure 25. Contractions with *be* in *BROWN* and *FROWN*

a. *BROWN*



b. *FROWN*

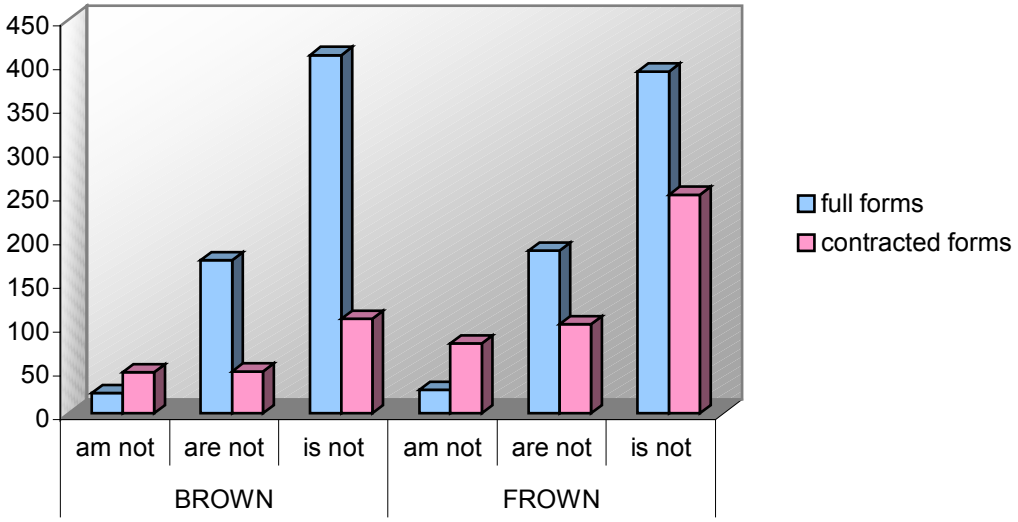


However, as mentioned in footnote 18 above, factors usually operate in combination. Therefore, operators need to be also examined in the light of the types of texts in which they appear. A close look at the data reveals that, while in *BROWN* the most formal text-types (Cat A to Cat J) favour the use of full forms with the operator *be*, some formal categories in *FROWN*, namely Press reportage (Cat A) (NF 4.77 for UncNs vs. 7.72 for contractions), Press review (Cat C) (NF 4.41 vs. 4.7) and Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) (NF 5.13 vs. 5.96), already show a higher ratio of contractions. As regards the variation between the two contracted types in relation to genre, while in the *BROWN* corpus NotCs are the predominant choice in most kind of texts (categories A, B, E, F, G, J, K and N), in the *FROWN* corpus NotCs tend to be less numerous than OpeCs. In this respect, therefore, written AmE shows a stronger tendency to select OpeCs rather than NotCs from the 1960s to the 1990s, thus confirming what has been claimed by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among others (cf. Section II.4.1. above).

As in the case of the comparisons between the two written BrE corpora in Section 3.6.1.1. above, the analysis of individual forms of the *be*-operator reveals significant differences (cf. Tables 41 and 51 above). While in both corpora

uncontracted forms are more frequent than contractions with the sequences *are not* and *is not*, the latter variant is preferred with the first person singular *am not* (cf. Figure 26 below).

Figure 26. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *BROWN* and *FROWN*



As regards the choice of the contracted variants with individual forms, there are also some similarities and differences between the two corpora. Thus, for instance, the sequence *are not* favours the selection of NotCs in both *BROWN* and *FROWN*, while, by contrast, the form *am not*, as expected, prefers OpeCs, since there is no standard NotC for the first person singular (cf. Sections II.1., II.3.2.3.1. and II.4.1. above). However, *BROWN* and *FROWN* differ in their selection of OpeCs or NotCs with the sequence *is not*: in the 1960s NotCs clearly outnumber OpeCs, whereas in the 1990s OpeCs have become the predominant contracted form.

As in the BrE data discussed above (cf. Section 3.6.1.1.), AmE also exhibits an increase in the use of the form *ain't*, both for the operators *have* and *be* (34 instances in *BROWN* and 44 in *FROWN*).

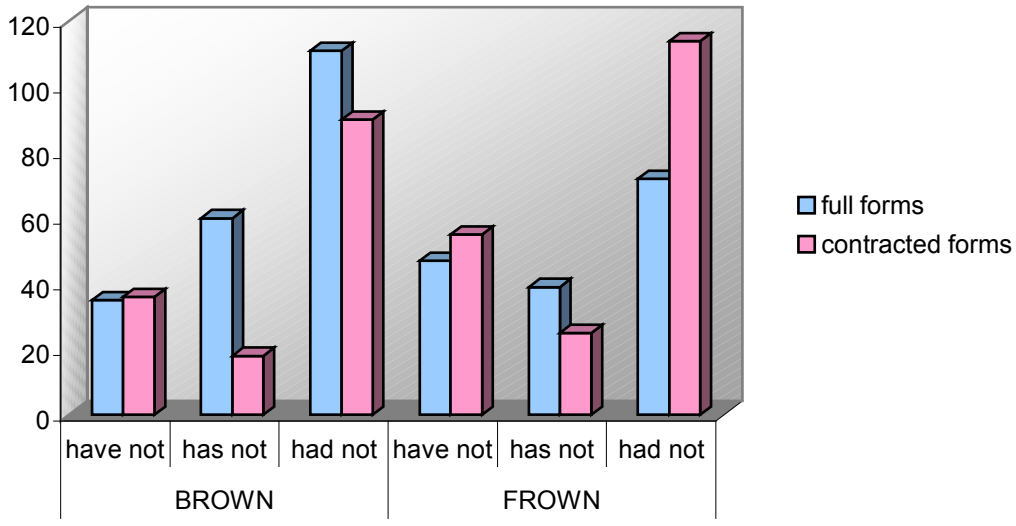
It is also noticeable that contractions are used to a greater extent with the verb *be* when it functions as an auxiliary for passive or progressive constructions in AmE from the 1960s than when it is used as a copula (28.02% vs. 23.88%, respectively), while in the 1990s contractions are favoured with lexical *be* (42.07% vs. 40.66%, respectively). Another difference detected between the two written AmE corpora concerns the distribution of the two fused forms. OpeCs predominate with auxiliary *be* and NotCs with *be* as a copula in *BROWN*. By contrast, in *FROWN* OpeC is the preferred contracted choice irrespective of whether the verb is a copula or an auxiliary. It is also worth noting that in the last decades of the twentieth century passive *be* favours the use of NotCs, while progressive *be* prefers OpeCs.

The three other operators (*have, will* and *would*) show a very similar diachronic development in AmE texts. In the three cases I find less UncNs and more NotCs in the 1990s than in the 1960s, while OpeCs are practically non-existent with any of the three operators in both *BROWN* and *FROWN*, and almost restricted to fictional categories. However, individual text-types differ from operator to operator. Thus, for instance, with *have* the *FROWN* corpus prefers contractions to a greater extent than full forms in most text-types, both formal categories, such as A, C or E, and informal ones, such as K to P. This contrasts

with the state of affairs found in the 1960s, when contractions predominate only in some fictional categories (L, N, P and R) (cf. Tables 44 and 54 above).

As far as individual forms of the *have*-operator are concerned (cf. Tables 45 and 55 above and Figure 27 below), the written AmE data from the 1990s differ from those of the 1960s in the selection of the negative variants at issue: in the 1960s full forms prevail over contracted ones with the sequences *has not* and *had not*, whereas in the 1990s uncontracted forms are only favoured with the string *has not* (39 instances with UncNs vs. 25 of contractions (NotCs)).

Figure 27. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *have*-operator in *BROWN* and *FROWN*



As in the case of the *be*-operator examined above, the dichotomy lexical *have* vs. auxiliary *have* also plays an important role. Here the former favours the use of contractions to a greater extent both in *BROWN* and in *FROWN*. This also applies to both OpeCs and NotCs in written AmE from the 1990s. By contrast, in the 1960s, fused forms with lexical *have* are exclusively of the NotC type.

Another important feature of the written AmE material analysed in this piece of research is the low number of occurrences of the *have got* construction, 12 examples in *BROWN* and only nine in *FROWN*. Such a low number of instances is related to the fact that, as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 131f) mention (cf. Section II.4.2. above), in AmE the lexical verb *have* tends to be negated with the *do*-operator instead of resorting to the *have not got* construction. This is borne out by the data in the two corpora. Moreover, as mentioned in Section 3.4.4. above, the use of do-support with the lexical verb *have* has increased in written AmE in the latter part of the twentieth century (68.83% in *BROWN* vs. 85.19% in *FROWN*).

Regarding *will*, there have been a decrease of full forms and a parallel advance of contracted variants from the 1960s to the 1990s, as the data in Tables 46 and 56 clearly show (NF 0.95 for UncNs and 0.94 for contractions in *BROWN* vs. 0.87 and 1.38, respectively, in *FROWN*). This is especially conspicuous in some text-categories, such as Press editorial (Cat B) (NF 2.77 for UncNs and 1.48 for NotCs in *BROWN* vs. 0.55 and 5.55, respectively, in *FROWN*).

In the case of *would* (cf. Tables 47 and 57 above), full forms are more common than contractions in the *BROWN* corpus (NF 1.45 for UncNs vs. 1.2 for contracted forms), while in *FROWN* the balance is reversed in favour of contractions (NF 0.99 vs. 1.25). Thus, from a diachronic point of view, in written AmE, we witness a moderate rise in the number of contractions and a parallel decrease of full forms with the operator *would*. This is clearly reflected in the

informal category K (General fiction) (NF 2.93 for UncNs and 1.54 for contractions in *BROWN* vs. 0.86 and 3.1, respectively, in *FROWN*).

Concerning the patterns of distribution of the three negative variants depending on the nature of the subject both in the 1960s and in the 1990s, some conclusions can be drawn from the comparison of the data in Tables 48 and 58 above. In the *BROWN* corpus, contracted forms of all operators except *be* are preferred to UncNs with simple pronominal subjects; in the *FROWN* corpus, on the other hand, contractions are favoured over UncNs, irrespective of the operator being used. However, the proportional difference between full forms and contractions with simple pronominal subjects is higher in *FROWN* than in the *BROWN* corpus. Furthermore, in both corpora, with the exception of *will* in *FROWN*, more complex subjects, such as NPs, tend to occur with uncontracted forms. However, when the subject is existential *there*, the tendency is to use contractions with the *be* and *would* operators in the *BROWN* corpus and with *be*, *have* and *would* in the *FROWN* corpus.

The strong preference for contractions with simple pronominal subjects can be related to the notion of string frequency discussed by Krug (1998: 294) (cf. Section II.3.1.5. above). Sequences such as *he is not* or *he had not*, which are very frequently used, are those with show a higher ratio of contracted variants. By contrast, strings such as *man is not* or *the injustice had not*, which are not so common, do not favour the use of contractions. Thus, once again, the most

frequent sequences are those which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent.

3.6.2. The Dialect Factor: British English, American English, Australian English and New Zealand English

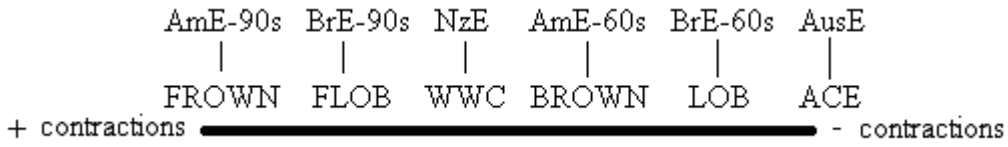
3.6.2.1. Dialect Distinctions in Written English: a Comparison between *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*

This section is concerned with the study, from a dialectal point of view, of the differences and similarities, between all the written corpora under consideration. For this purpose, I will compare the data of the *LOB* corpus with those of *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*. It should be noted that, although the two latter corpora date from the 1980s, I have decided to compare them not only with the BrE and AmE corpora from the 1990s, but also with those from the 1960s in order to check whether the AusE and NzE texts are more closely related to the BrE and/or AmE data from the 1960s, or, by contrast, they are more similar to the most recent BrE and/or AmE texts.

As seen in Tables 19, 29, 39, 49, 59 and 69 above, uncontracted negative forms are the predominant option in all dialects. This is not at all surprising, given that these corpora comprise exclusively written texts. The data also show the existence of a greater fondness for contracted forms in AmE, mainly in the 1990s, than in the remaining dialects examined (BrE, AusE and NzE). A similar opposition between BrE and AmE, with the latter variety being more advanced

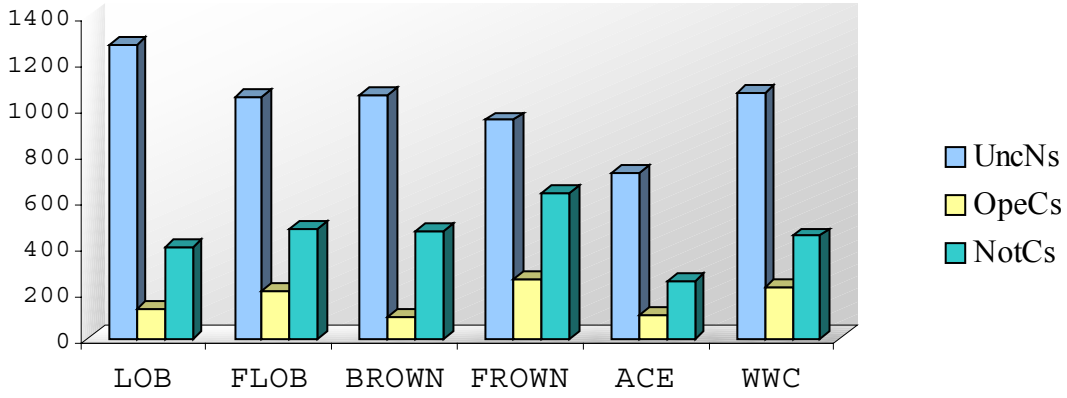
than the former, has also been proved to hold for other areas of grammar. Thus, for example, Mair (2002), in his study of the proportional use of the gerund after the verb *begin* in *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *FROWN*, finds a "persistent contrast between British and American usage" (2002: 116f), AmE making use of the construction to a greater extent than BrE. A comparison of the individual analyses of the six written corpora provided in Section 3.4. above allows me to organise these four dialects along a continuum in the way displayed in Figure 28 below.

Figure 28. Degree of contraction in written texts according to dialect



Another similarity between the six dialects under consideration is their preference to select NotCs over OpeCs, as shown in Figure 29 below.

Figure 29. Distribution of negative occurrences in the six written corpora



Nevertheless, the proportion between uncontracted negatives and contractions varies from dialect to dialect. Thus, while BrE from the 1960s (*LOB*) shows the highest difference between the two variants, AmE from the 1990s

(*FROWN*) presents the lowest, the remaining corpora occupying an intermediate position. As far as contractions are concerned, both AusE and NzE are more closely related to BrE than to AmE, since the difference between the two contracted forms in *ACE* and *WWC* is not so conspicuous as in the *BROWN* and the *FROWN* corpora.

The comparison of individual categories in the six written corpora reveals the following: [81]

(a) In AmE from the 1960s, full forms are less numerous (NF 12.71 in *LOB* vs. 10.54 in *BROWN*) and contractions are more frequent (NF 5.19 in *LOB* vs. 5.6 in *BROWN*) than in its BrE counterpart (cf. Tables 19 and 39 above). However, as far as individual categories are concerned, this statement only holds true for the formal categories: Press review (Cat C), Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E) and Belle letters, memoirs and biographies (Cat G). This allows me to claim that in AmE from the 1960s, contractions are used to a greater extent than in BrE texts from the same decade. Nevertheless, contrary to my expectations, in the most informal text-type, Fiction (Cat K), both full forms and contractions are less frequent in *BROWN* than in the *LOB* corpus (NF 8.21 for UncNs and 17.57 for contractions in *LOB* vs. 6.9 and 16.42, respectively in *BROWN*).

[81] For this section, it was deemed advisable to group categories K to R in *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN* and *ACE* under category K, named fiction, in order to compare the data from these corpora with those from the *WWC*. This grouping has been maintained when dealing with individual operators and text-types. The general data corresponding to category K in each corpora after grouping the aforementioned categories are the following:

LOB: UncNs 207 (8.21), OpeCs 104 (4.12) and NotCs 339 (13.45).
FLOB: UncNs 151 (5.99), OpeCs 165 (6.54) and NotCs 346 (13.73).
BROWN: UncNs 174 (6.9), OpeCs 72 (2.85) and NotCs 342 (13.57).
FROWN: UncNs 161 (6.38), OpeCs 140 (5.55) and NotCs 365 (14.48).
ACE: UncNs 55 (2.18), OpeCs 46 (1.82) and NotCs 99 (3.92).

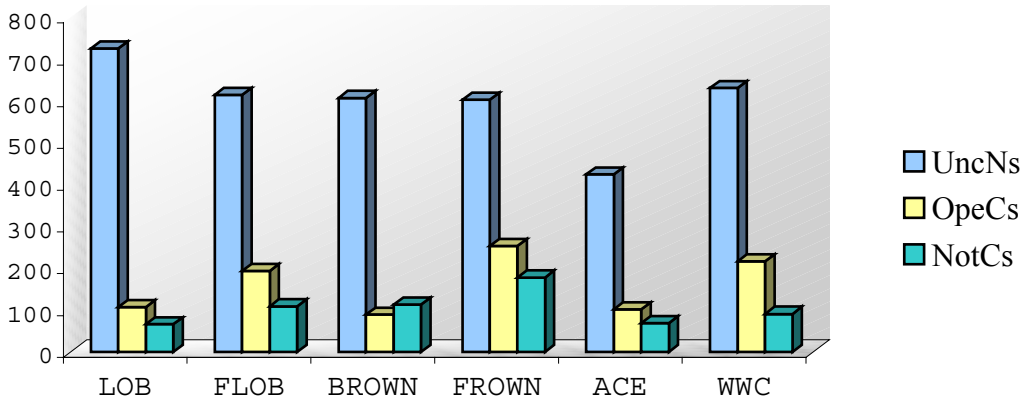
(b) In the corpora from the 1990s, as seen in Tables 29 and 49 above, AmE once again prefers the use of contractions in written texts to a greater extent than BrE, the proportion of full forms in the *FROWN* corpus being lower than in *FLOB* (NF 10.46 for full forms and 6.82 for contractions in *FLOB* vs. 9.48 and 8.89, respectively in *FROWN*). Such a preference is particularly obvious in the case of formal text-types (Cat A to Cat G), thus confirming what has been said in the literature of the topic that contractions are more commonly used in informal style and in AmE than in BrE (cf. Sections II.3.1.1. and II.3.1.2. above).

(c) Comparing the data from AusE and NzE (cf. Tables 59 and 69 above), it can be said that the frequency of full forms and contractions is lower in *ACE* than in *WWC* (NF 7.76 for UncNs and 3.85 for contractions in *ACE* vs. 10.63 and 6.7, respectively in *WWC*). This is corroborated in almost all categories, both formal, such as A, B, E, F and G, and informal, such as K. However, in the most formal kind of text, Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), AusE contains less UncNs and more contractions than NzE (NF 6.18 for UncNs and 0.74 for contractions in *ACE* vs. 12.5 and 0.31, respectively in *WWC*).

(d) As regards contractions, the preference for NotCs over OpeCs found in all dialects is particularly obvious in the most informal texts, those belonging to Fiction (Cat K) in all the corpora.

The differences between the six written corpora as regards type of operator are described in the following paragraphs. Concerning *be* (cf. Tables 20, 30, 40, 50, 60 and 70 above), UncNs constitute the predominant option in all corpora, their proportion being somewhat higher in *LOB* than in the remaining corpora (7.26 in *LOB*, 6.15 in *FLOB*, 6.08 in *BROWN*, 6.04 in *FROWN*, 4.58 in *ACE* and 6.33 in *WWC*). When dealing with individual text-types, the predominance of UncNs over contractions is corroborated in almost all formal text-types in the six written corpora. Nevertheless, in the informal category (Fiction), as expected, contracted variants seem to be the preferred option in all dialects. The most prominent difference found is between AmE from the 1960s, on the one hand, and the other corpora, on the other regarding the distribution of the two contracted alternatives. Thus, as shown in Figure 30 below, while in BrE (both in *LOB* and *FLOB*), AmE from the 1990s (*FROWN*), AusE and NzE, OpeCs are preferred to NotCs, in AmE from the 1960s (*BROWN*), NotCs are the dominant contracted form.

Figure 30. Negative occurrences with the *be*-operator in the six written corpora



The strong preference for OpeCs at the expense of NotCs with the *be*-operator is related to a number of interrelated factors, such as date of composition, text-type, dialect, and so on. For instance, in the most formal categories, from A to J, in the *LOB* corpus, this preference for OpeCs is evident in all categories with the exception of Press review (Cat C) and in Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E), where no OpeC has been recorded. Similarly, in *FLOB* the tendency is followed in all formal text-types, except in Press reportage (Cat B), Press review (Cat C) and Popular lore (Cat F); in *FROWN*, in almost all categories; in *ACE*, the exceptions are Press reportage (Cat B), Religion (Cat D) and Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E), and in *WWC*, categories D, F and J. By contrast, in the *BROWN* corpus, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs in almost all categories where the two kinds of contractions under study are present, the only exceptions being Cat C, where they are alike in number, and Cat D, where no example of NotCs has been recorded. Therefore, the statements by Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among others (cf. Section II.4.1. above) about the predominance of OpeCs over NotCs with the verb *be* does not hold true for all text-types and for all dialects in my study.

As far as individual forms of the operator *be* are concerned, all corpora behave similarly as regards their preference for full forms with the *are not* and *is not* sequences, and for contractions with *am not*, as Tables 21, 31, 41, 51, 61 and 71 above clearly show. However, the most significant feature is related to the selection of the two kinds of contractions. Here, while for the form *am not*, OpeC is the predominant type in all corpora, the results for the sequences *are not* and *is*

not vary from corpus to corpus. Thus, with *are not*, OpeCs are preferred in *LOB*, *FLOB* and *WWC*, so that the NzE corpus is closely related to those of BrE. By contrast, with the string *is not* OpeC forms seem to be predominant in *FLOB*, *FROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*, which implies that both AusE and NzE are more similar to the data in the most recent corpora of BrE and AmE.

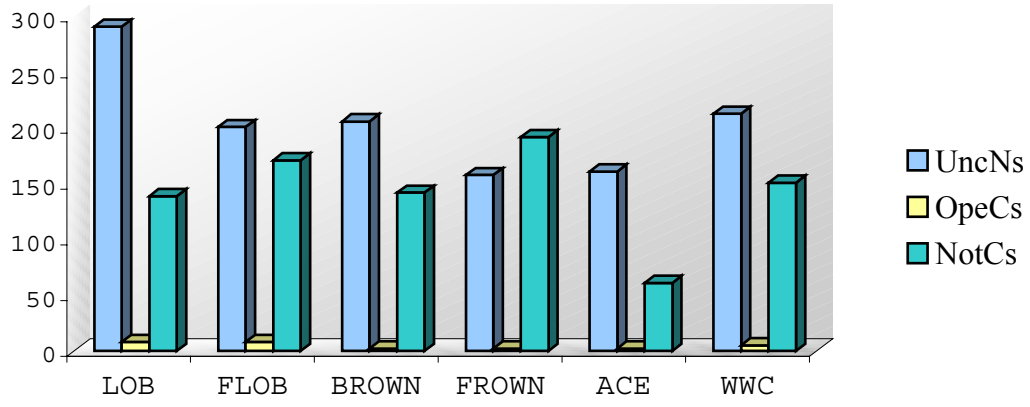
It is also noteworthy that, while in written BrE (both the *LOB* and the *FLOB* corpora), AusE and NzE, the number of occurrences recorded with the form *ain't*, corresponding to both the *be* and *have* operators, is very low (four examples in *LOB*, nine in *FLOB*, three in *ACE* and three in *WWC*), in written AmE the frequency of this negative contraction is much higher (34 instances in *BROWN* and 44 in *FROWN*), and there is even an increase in number from the 1960s to the 1990s. The form *ain't* reveals itself, therefore, as a distinctive trait of AmE, though it can also be found in a more sporadic fashion in other dialects of English worldwide.

Concerning the frequency of contractions with the *be*-operator functioning as a main verb or as an auxiliary for progressive and passive constructions, there are some noticeable differences between the six written corpora. On the one hand, contractions are more common with lexical *be* than with auxiliary *be* in the most recent corpora (*FLOB*, *FROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*), while the two corpora from the 1960s (*LOB* and *BROWN*) show a higher proportion of fused forms with auxiliary *be* (cf. Tables 22, 32, 42, 52, 62 and 72 above). On the other hand, as regards the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs, the data from the six corpora yield, once again,

divergent results. For instance, NotCs are more frequent with lexical *be* and OpeCs with auxiliary *be* in *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*, while in *FROWN* the situation is the reverse (cf. Tables 23, 33, 43, 53, 63 and 73 above). The only similarity between the three dialects under discussion is that OpeCs are more numerous with *be* as a progressive marker than with *be* as a passive auxiliary. Passive *be*, on the other hand, occurs more frequently in its NotC form.

As regards the *have*-operator (cf. Tables 24, 34, 44, 54, 64 and 74 above), while in *FROWN* contracted forms are more frequent than full forms, in the remaining five corpora UncNs are the preferred negative variant, as shown in Figure 31 below.

Figure 31. Instances with the *have*-operator in the six written corpora



Nevertheless, the proportional difference between UncNs and contractions is not so highly marked in *FLOB* (NF 2.01 for UncNs vs. 1.79 for contractions), *BROWN* (NF 2.06 vs. 1.44) or *WWC* (NF 2.13 vs. 1.57), as in *LOB* (NF 2.91 vs. 1.46) or *ACE* (NF 1.61 vs. 0.67).

Concerning text-types in relation to the operator *have*, in all six corpora the most informal category (Cat K) favours the use of contractions, while in the other genres, with the exception of Cat C (Press review) in *WWC* and categories A (Press reportage), C (Press review) and E (Skills, trades and hobbies) in *FROWN*, UncNs outnumber contractions. The six corpora also have in common that the proportion of NotCs is higher than that of OpeCs in all categories where both variants are present, and that the latter kind of contraction is only occasional in all dialects, though somewhat more frequent in BrE than in AmE, AusE or NzE.

As regards individual forms (cf. Tables 25, 35, 45, 55, 65 and 75 above), the selection of uncontracted and contracted variants differs from dialect to dialect. Thus, full forms are preferred with the sequences *have not*, *has not* and *had not* in *LOB* and *ACE*, with *has not* and *had not* in *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *WWC*, and with *has not* in *FROWN*. Therefore, with the *have*-operator, the AusE corpus is more closely related to BrE from the 1960s, in contrast to the *be*-operator, whose behaviour, as seen above, was closer to that of BrE and AmE from the 1990s. By contrast, NzE, is, once again, more similar to BrE from the 1990s and AmE from the 1960s.

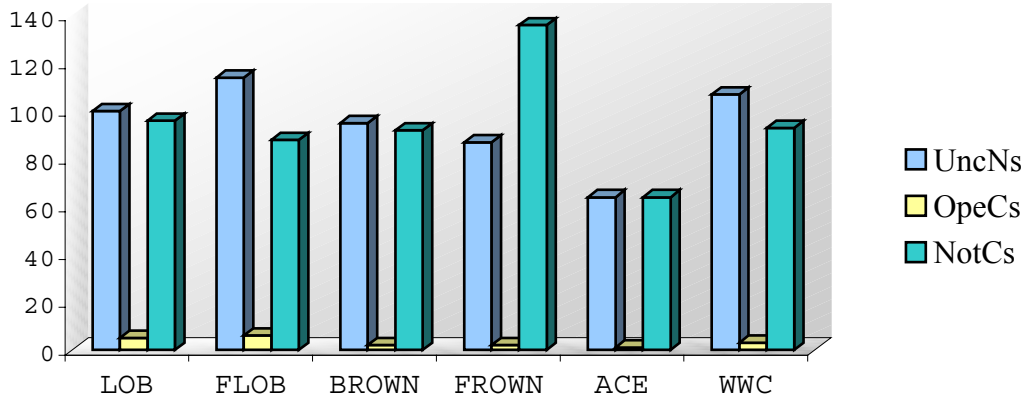
In contrast to the operator *be* discussed above, the verb *have* favours the use of contractions when it functions as a lexical verb to a greater extent than when it is used as an auxiliary in the six corpora under consideration. Thus, the preference for contractions with auxiliaries mentioned by Quirk *et al*. (1985: 123), Sinclair (1990: 453) or Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129) does not hold true for the *have*-

operator. As far as fused forms are concerned, OpeCs in *LOB*, *BROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC* are more common with *have* as the auxiliary for the perfect, whereas in *FLOB* and *FROWN*, both types of fused forms predominate with lexical *have*. In this respect both written AusE and NzE are closer to BrE and AmE from the 1960s.

Another important difference found between the six written corpora concerns the negation of the operator *have* followed by *got*. In AusE the combination is practically non-existent (1.88% of the relevant cases), whereas the number of instances is higher in BrE (4.11% in *LOB* and 5.26% in *FLOB*), NzE (4.59%) and AmE (3.43% in *BROWN* and 2.55% in *FROWN*). Although examples of this kind are too few to draw definite conclusions, the data suggest that in BrE there is an increasing tendency to use this construction, while in AmE its use seems to be decreasing. This can be related to the fact that, as mentioned by scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985: 131f), the trend in AmE is to negate the lexical verb *have* with the *do*-operator instead of using the *have not got* construction (cf. Section II.4.2. above). Concerning the use of the auxiliary *do*, the analysis of the different corpora yields interesting results. All corpora except *LOB* prefer negation with *do not* to that with *not* alone. However, the proportion of the former construction is higher in AmE (68.83% in *BROWN* and 85.19% in *FROWN*), in AusE (87.21% in *ACE*) and NzE (77.32% in *WWC*) than in BrE from the 1990s (63.11%).

However, the most significant difference between the six corpora analysed in this section concerns the operator *will* (cf. Tables 26, 36, 46, 56, 66 and 76 above). As shown in Figure 32 below, three corpora show a slightly higher proportion of contractions than of UncNs, namely *LOB* (NF 1 for UncNs vs. 1.01 for contractions), *FROWN* (NF 0.87 vs. 1.38) and *ACE* (0.69 vs. 0.7), while the remaining three, *FLOB* (NF 1.14 vs. 0.94), *BROWN* (NF 0.95 vs. 0.94) and *WWC* (NF 1.07 vs. 0.96), show the reverse situation. Thus, referring to the *will*-operator, the AusE corpus is clearly related to BrE from the 1960s and AmE from the 1990s, while the NzE corpus is, once again, closer to BrE from the 1990s and AmE from the 1960s.

Figure 32. Negative occurrences with the *will*-operator in the six written corpora

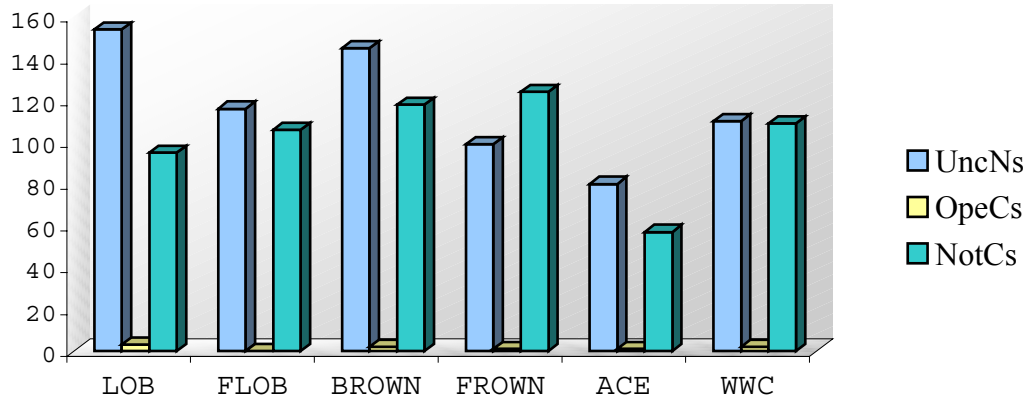


The preferred contracted form for *will* is that of NotCs in all dialects and in all texts. Individual categories may, nevertheless, behave differently in the six corpora. Thus, for example, in the three corpora where contractions outnumber UncNs, the latter prevail in the most formal categories, from Cat A to Cat J, with the exception of Cat F (Popular lore) in *LOB*, in C (Press review) and D (Religion) and E (Skills, trades and hobbies) in *FROWN* and in A (Press reportage), C (Press review) and E (Skills, trades and hobbies) in *ACE*. In

contrast, in the three other corpora contractions predominate in category K (General fiction) in *FLOB*, in categories C (Press review), E (Skills, trades and hobbies) and K (General fiction) in *BROWN* and in C (Press review) and K (General fiction) in *WWC*. Therefore, I can conclude that all dialects favour the use of contractions at the expense of full forms in the most informal categories, i.e. those somewhat related to the spoken medium (Cat K), while the most formal text-types, such as Learned and scientific writings (Cat J), prefer the uncontracted negative variant.

With the operator *would*, the selection of full forms and contractions varies depending on the dialect and sometimes also on the date of composition of the texts. In BrE (both *LOB* and *FLOB*), AmE from the 1960s (*BROWN*) and AusE (*ACE*), the preferred variant is that of UncN, while in *FROWN* and *WWC* contractions are favoured (cf. Tables 27, 37, 47, 57, 67 and 77 above and Figure 33 below). Thus, while AusE is closer to BrE (both *LOB* and *FLOB*) and AmE from the 1960s, NzE is related to AmE from the 1990s.

Figure 33. Negative examples with the *would*-operator in the six written corpora



As with the other operators already analysed, the selection between the three alternatives of negation should, nevertheless, be studied taking into account text-types, since in all dialects the fondness for contractions is more obvious in Fiction (Cat K), while in formal categories there is a clear predominance of UncNs over contractions.

A comparison of the data in Tables 28, 38, 48, 58, 68 and 78 above reveals the patterns of distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms depending on the nature of the subject of the clause in the six corpora under analysis. Thus, for example, in *LOB*, simple pronominal subjects prefer UncNs with all operators except *will* (41 occurrences of UncNs vs. 82 occurrences of contracted forms). In *FLOB*, *BROWN* and *WWC*, by contrast, subjects of this kind prefer contractions with all operators except *be* (260 occurrences of UncNs vs. 231 occurrences of contracted forms in *FLOB*, 266 vs. 148 in *BROWN* and 273 vs. 244 in *WWC*). In *ACE* only *be* (173 vs. 130) and *have* (65 vs. 49) favour UncNs, while in *FROWN* contractions are preferred with the four operators under consideration.

The state of affairs just described clearly contrasts with that obtained for NP subjects. Here all corpora exhibit a similar behaviour, since in all dialects all operators, with the exception of *will* in *FROWN* (27 occurrences with UncNs vs. 30 for contracted forms), tend to select UncNs, though the proportion of full forms is higher with the operator *be* than with the other verbs. Besides, as far as contractions are concerned, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs with subjects of this kind with all operators, *be* included. No significant differences between

dialects can be detected either for the remaining types of subjects for which a sufficient amount of data has been gathered, with the exception of existential-*there* subjects. In such a context, contracted forms outnumber uncontracted negatives with the operators *be*, *will* and *would* in *LOB*, with *be* and *would* in *BROWN*, with *be*, *have* and *would* operators in *FROWN* and with *be*, *have* and *will* in *WWC*. Nevertheless, in *FLOB* and *ACE* this holds true only with the *be*-operator, so that, in this respect, AusE is closer to BrE from the 1990s. Therefore, the statement found in the literature that contractions are favoured in existential clauses (cf. Section II.2. above) is perhaps too general and should be revised taking into account several other factors, such as dialect, operator or subject-type, among others.

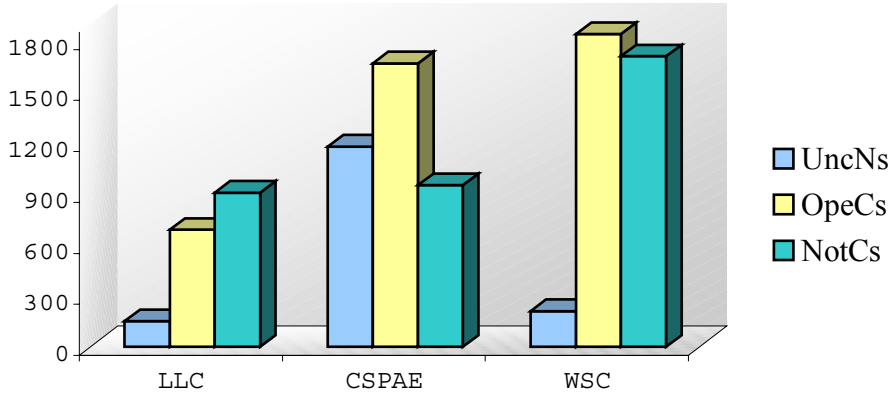
Finally, another feature shared by the six written corpora is that the most frequent sequences are those which favour the use of the contracted variants. As stated in Sections 3.4.1. to 3.4.6. above, contractions are more likely to occur in a sequence like *he is not*, which is rather commonly used, than in other less frequent strings, such as *the government is not*. Thus, Krug's string frequency factor is confirmed by my written English data for all dialects examined.

3.6.2.2. Dialect Distinctions in Spoken English: a Comparison between *LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*

In this section I will be concerned with the comparison between the three spoken corpora, *LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*, which will allow me to establish differences and similarities between BrE, AmE and NzE from a dialectal point of view. Judging

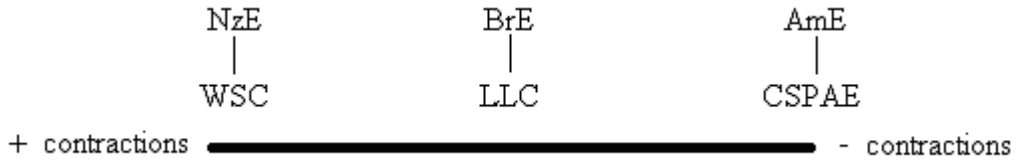
from the data in Tables 79, 89 and 99 above, I can conclude that contractions are, by far, the preferred negative variant in the spoken language of the three dialects under analysis, as Figure 34 below clearly demonstrates. This constitutes a clear difference between spoken English and the written corpora discussed in Section 3.6.2.1. above, which showed a preference for the uncontracted form in all dialects (cf. Figure 29 above). As can be seen, the proportional difference between contractions and uncontracted negatives is very strongly marked for BrE (NF 2.98 for UncNs vs. 31.86 for contractions) and NzE (NF 2.1 vs. 35.45), while it is not so conspicuous for AmE (NF 11.76 vs. 26.16). Such a difference may be due to the greater formality of the texts included in the AmE corpus in comparison to those of the *LLC* and *WSC* (cf. Section III.1.2. above).

Figure 34. Distribution of negative occurrences in the three spoken corpora



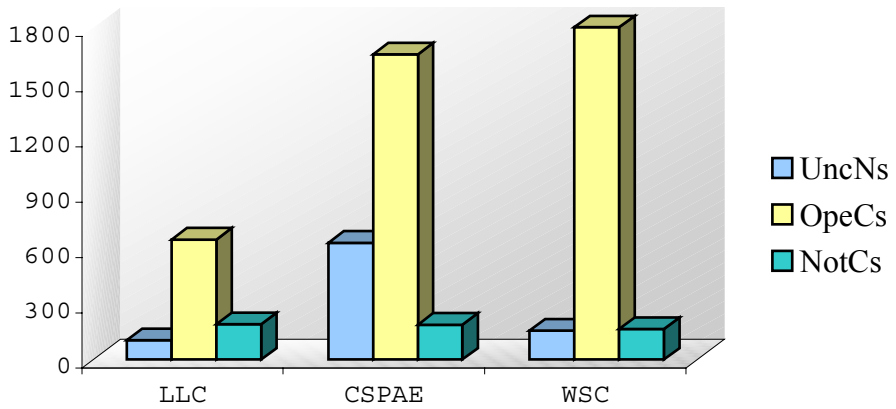
Thus, unlike the written corpora, where AmE favoured the use on contractions to a greater extent than the other dialects (cf. Figure 28 in Section 3.6.2.1. above), among the spoken corpora, AmE is precisely the dialect which shows a lower proportion of contractions. The analysis of the three individual corpora yields the continuum given in Figure 35 below:

Figure 35. Degree of contraction in spoken texts according to dialect



Another important difference between the three spoken corpora concerns the distribution of the two types of contracted variants. Thus, while in BrE NotCs predominate over OpeCs (NF 13.76 for OpeCs vs. 18.1 for NotCs), in both AmE (NF 16.67 vs. 9.49) and NzE (NF 18.37 vs. 17.08), OpeCs are favoured to a greater extent than NotCs. This may be explained by considering the high ratio of tokens recorded with the operator *be* in the *CSPAE* and *WSC* corpora. As seen in Tables 80, 90 and 100 above, the three dialects behave similarly with this verb, since contractions represent by far the preferred negative variant and, among contracted types, OpeCs are vastly more frequent than NotCs (cf. Figure 36 below). However, the proportion of OpeC forms is higher in the NzE corpus (NF 18.23 for OpeCs vs. 1.66 for NotCs) than in the AmE (NF 16.54 vs. 1.89) or the BrE corpora (NF 13.04 vs. 3.82). This way, the spoken corpora corroborate the information provided in the literature on the topic (cf. Section II.4.1. above).

Figure 36. The *be*-operator in the three spoken corpora



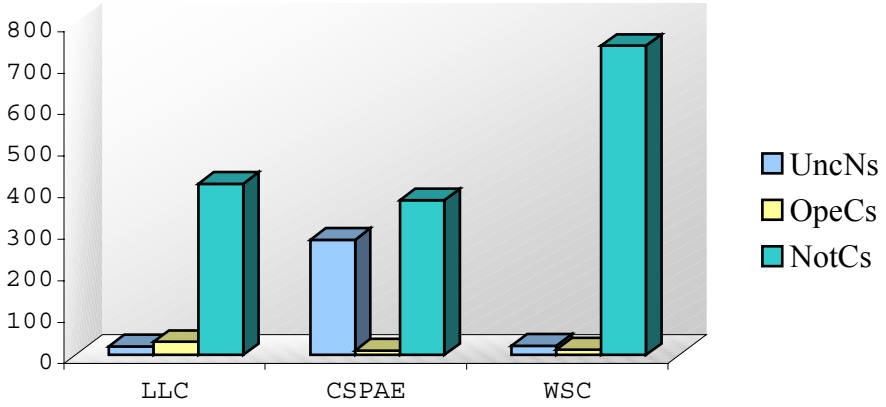
When dealing with the behaviour of the individual forms of the operator *be* which allow the three alternatives to negate, no difference is detected between the three dialects either. Once again, contractions, mainly OpeCs, are preferred to a greater extent than UncNs with the sequences *am not*, *are not* and *is not*, *'s not* being the most common string in the three spoken corpora (cf. Tables 81, 91 and 101 above).

The use of contractions with the lexical verb *be* vs. the auxiliary verb *be* is also a clear dialectal marker between the three spoken dialects. In BrE and NzE contractions are more frequent with lexical *be*, while in AmE such fused forms are used to a greater extent with the auxiliary *be* (cf. Tables 82, 92 and 102 above). Nevertheless, when dealing with the variation between OpeCs and NotCs, no noticeable distinction is detected between the three dialects: the NotC type predominates with lexical *be* (cf. Tables 83, 93 and 103 above), while OpeCs are preferred with auxiliary *be*. Besides, the three dialects share a stronger preference for NotC in passive constructions than in progressives.

As can be seen in Figure 37 below, the data for the verb *have* differ from those of the previous operator in that the former shows a preference for NotCs rather than OpeCs or UncNs in all three corpora (cf. Tables 84, 94 and 104). Nevertheless, the proportion between full forms and contractions is not so conspicuous in *CSPAE* (NF 2.78 for UncNs vs. 3.84 for contracted forms) as in the two other corpora (NF 0.42 for UncNs vs. 8.9 for contractions in *LLC*; and

0.22 vs. 7.58 in *WSC*), probably because of the higher degree of formality of the texts included in the *CSPAE* corpus.

Figure 37. Occurrences with the *have*-operator in the three spoken corpora



Another difference between the operator *have* and the *be*-operator concerns the distribution of the variants with individual forms of these two verbs. While spoken BrE and NzE favour the use of contractions with the sequences *have not*, *has not* and *had not*, in spoken AmE only *have not* and *had not* prefer contractions to uncontracted negatives, and both variants are evenly distributed for *has not*.

The data for the use of contracted forms with the operator *have* when it functions as a lexical verb or as an auxiliary for the perfect are rather similar in *LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*, contractions being more frequent with lexical *have*, in contrast with the statements made by Sinclair (1990: 453) or Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129), among others. However, some dialectal differences are detected regarding the use of OpeCs and NotCs, the data in spoken NzE differing from those of BrE and AmE. In the latter dialects, NotCs are more frequently used with lexical *have*, while OpeCs predominate with auxiliary *have*. By contrast, in *WSC* both OpeCs

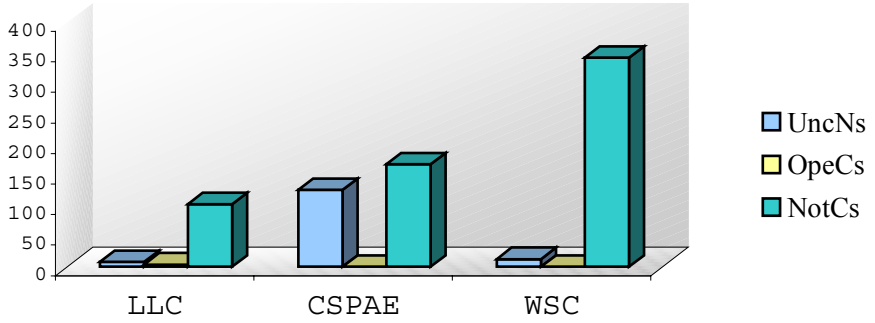
and NotCs are more common with lexical *have* than with *have* as perfective auxiliary.

Moreover, the combination *have got* is also a clear dialect marker in spoken English: while in AmE its frequency of occurrence is very low (only two instances, NF per 10,000 words 0.02), in BrE (98 examples, NF 1.96) and, especially, in NzE (158 instances, NF 1.58), it is fairly commonly used in speech. This suggests that, as mentioned by Quirk *et al*. (1985: 131f), in AmE the operator *have* functioning as a lexical verb tends to be negated with the *do*-operator (cf. Section III.4.2. above). This is borne out by the data in my corpus, since in *CSPAE* 99.08% of the relevant instances of lexical *have* show negation with the auxiliary *do*. Such a preference is also witnessed in spoken NzE (*WSC*), as in the case of the written corpora (cf. Section 3.6.2.1. above), although the frequency of negation with *do* is lower in *WSC* than in its written counterpart (*WWC*). By contrast, in spoken BrE the balance is reversed in favour of negation with *not* alone (61.05%). Thus, the *LLC* corpus can be said to occupy an intermediate position between the most conservative written BrE texts, those in the *LOB* corpus, where *do*-support is used in only 20% of the cases with lexical *have*, and the most advanced written material from the *FLOB* corpus, where the proportion of instances with *do* is considerably higher (63.11%).

The preference for contractions with the operator *have* also holds true for *will* (cf. Tables 86, 96 and 106 above and Figure 38 below). However, in the *CSPAE* corpus, once again, the distribution between the two variants is more even

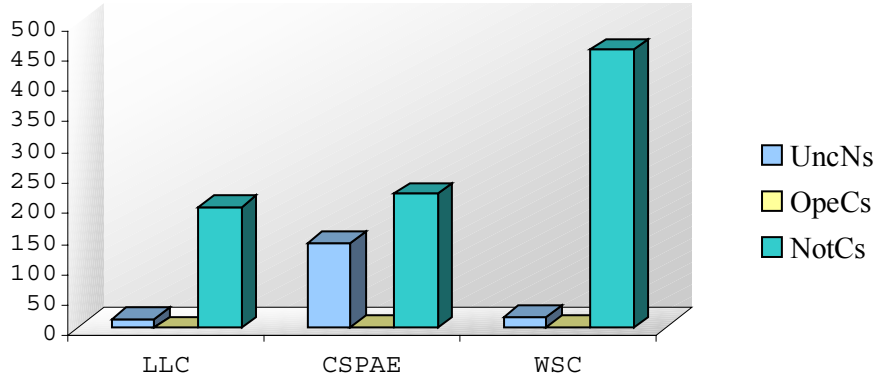
(NF 1.26 for UncNs vs. 1.68 for contractions), while in the *LLC* corpus (NF 0.16 vs. 2.14) and, most noticeably, in the *WSC* corpus (NF 0.13 vs. 3.43), the proportion of fused forms is much higher.

Figure 38. Instances with the *will*-operator in the three spoken corpora



Consider now Figure 39 below, which shows the results for the operator *would* (cf. also Tables 87, 97 and 107). The data for this verb do not differ too much from those of *have* and *will* analysed above, since NotCs turn out to be the predominant type in the three corpora. Moreover, the distribution of negative contractions and uncontracted negatives is highly marked in the BrE material (NF 0.3 for UncNs vs. 3.96 for contractions, all of them NotCs) and the NzE texts (NF 0.18 vs. 4.55), while in the more formal AmE corpus the difference between variants is not so obvious (NF 1.38 vs. 2.21).

Figure 39. The operator *would* in the three spoken corpora



The last variable contrasted in the *LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC* corpora is subject-type (cf. Tables 88, 98 and 108 above). As expected, contractions are favoured with pronominal subjects in the three corpora, OpeCs with *be* and NotCs with the remaining operators. However, the three dialects behave differently with simple NP subjects: both the BrE and the NzE corpora favour the use of contractions, mostly NotCs, with all operators, while in the AmE corpus the UncN is the predominant type. Therefore, in spoken BrE and NzE the tendency that simple subjects favour the use of contractions, while more complex subjects prefer full forms does not hold true, since both simple and more complex subject-types favour the use of the contracted variant. With existential *there* as subject, in turn, the three dialects show a similar behaviour, since contractions are preferred to full forms. Nevertheless, as far as contracted types are concerned, OpeCs are more common than NotCs only with *be* in *CSPAE* and *WSC*, while NotC is the most common option with all operators in the spoken BrE texts.

Finally, it must be noted that, as in the case of the written corpora, string frequency plays an important role in the selection of negative variants in the spoken language, given that those sequences which are more frequently used are also those which show a greater preference for the use of contractions. Thus, for example, combinations like *he is not*, very common in the three spoken corpora, favour the contracted type more frequently than, for example, *the president is not*, which is very rarely recorded in these texts (cf. Sections 3.5.1. to 3.5.3). Therefore, in this respect, there is no noticeable distinction between the three spoken corpora studied here and the written ones (cf. Section 3.6.2.1. above).

To sum up, it can be said that my spoken BrE and NzE texts behave in a similar way as regards the selection of variant negative patterns, while the spoken AmE material from the *CPSAE* corpus comes closer to the results obtained for the written medium due to the higher degree of formality of the texts included in this corpus.

3.6.3. Comparisons regarding Medium: Written vs. Spoken Corpora

Let us now turn to the analysis of the differences and similarities between corpora as regards medium, i.e. written vs. spoken. The subsections which follow will, therefore, be devoted to the comparison of the results obtained for written and spoken BrE (cf. Section 3.6.3.1. below), AmE (cf. Section 3.6.3.2. below) and, finally, NzE (cf. Section 3.6.3.3. below).[82]

3.6.3.1. *LOB*/*FLOB* vs. *LLC*

This section is concerned with the comparison between the three BrE corpora, *LLC*, *LOB* and *FLOB*, in order to establish a contrast between written and spoken texts belonging to this dialect.[83] As illustrated in Figures 40a-b below (cf. also Tables 19, 29 and 79 above), the main difference between written and spoken BrE texts is that the former prefer uncontracted forms, whereas in the latter there is a clear predominance of contractions. Therefore, my data confirm earlier statements

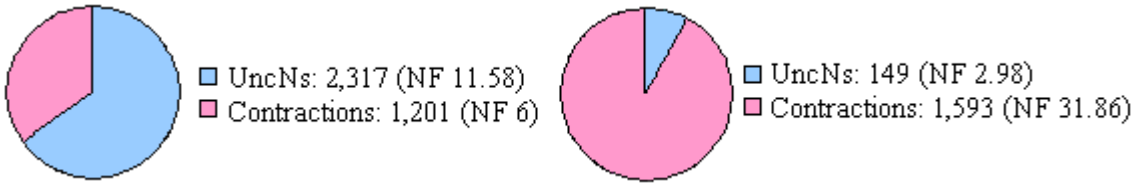
[82] Notice that no comparison can be established for AusE as regards medium, since my material comprises only written texts.

[83] I have decided to compare the two BrE written corpora *LOB* and *FLOB* with the spoken corpus *LLC*, since, as mentioned above in Section III.1.2., the latter comprises texts from the 1960s to the 1990s.

on the topic, such as those by Biber *et al*. (1999), among others (cf. Section II.3.1.1. above), that contractions are favoured in the spoken medium or in those kinds of texts more closely related to speech. Thus, the informal categories in the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora (from Cat K to Cat R) behave similarly to the text-types in the spoken corpus, where contractions outnumber full forms.

Figure 40. Distribution of negative forms in the BrE corpora

a. *LOB*/*FLOB* b. *LLC*

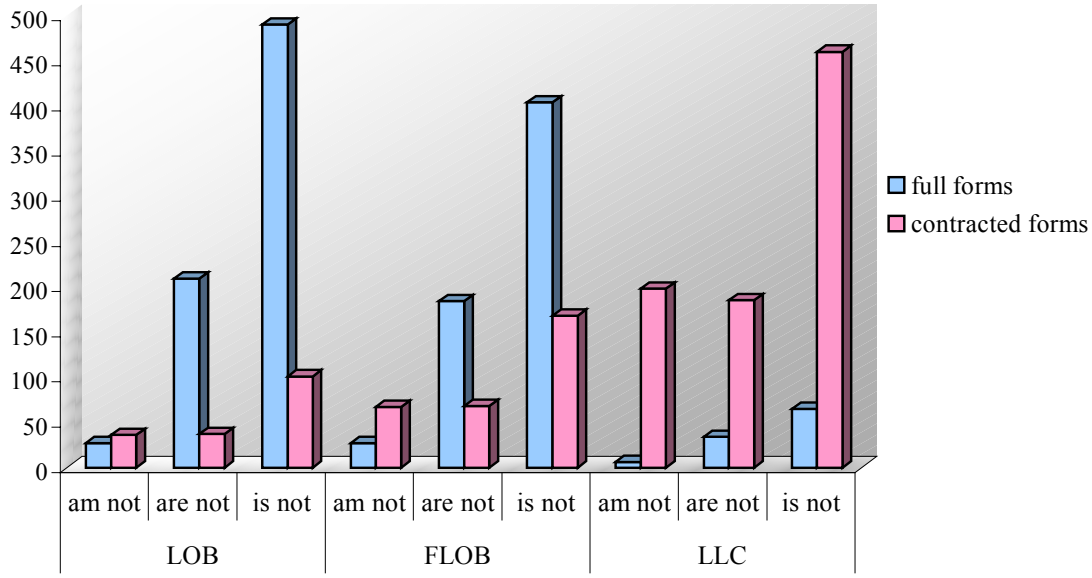


As regards the variation between the two types of contractions, there is no important distinction between written and spoken BrE texts. NotC is the most frequent contracted variant in both media (NF 1.65 for OpeCs vs. 4.35 for NotCs in written BrE and NF 13.76 vs. 18.1 in spoken BrE), though, as expected, the frequency of contractions is higher in the spoken corpus.

Let us consider now the selection of contracted and uncontracted forms with different operators. For the operator *be* (cf. Tables 20, 30 and 80 above), the results indicate that written texts also favour UncNs (NF 6.7 for UncNs vs. 2.38 for contracted forms), while spoken texts prefer contractions (NF 2.1 vs. 16.86). However, when examining the selection of the two contracted types, OpeCs turn out to be used to a greater extent than NotCs in both the spoken and the written language (NF 1.51 for OpeCs vs. 0.88 for NotCs in the written medium and NF 13.04 vs. 3.82 in speech), although the ratio is much higher in *LLC*.

Another important difference between written and spoken BrE concerns the selection of variants according to the individual forms of the verb *be* (cf. Tables 21, 31 and 81 above and Figure 41 below).

Figure 41. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *LOB*, *FLOB* and *LLC*



While in the *LLC* corpus contractions, mainly OpeCs, are more frequent than full forms with the forms *am not*, *are not* and *is not*, in the written texts of both the *LOB* and the *FLOB* corpora only *am not* favours the choice of contractions. Besides, regarding fused forms, OpeCs are predominant with *am not* and *are not* in *LOB*, whereas they represent the default choice with the three verbal forms in *FLOB* and in *LLC*.

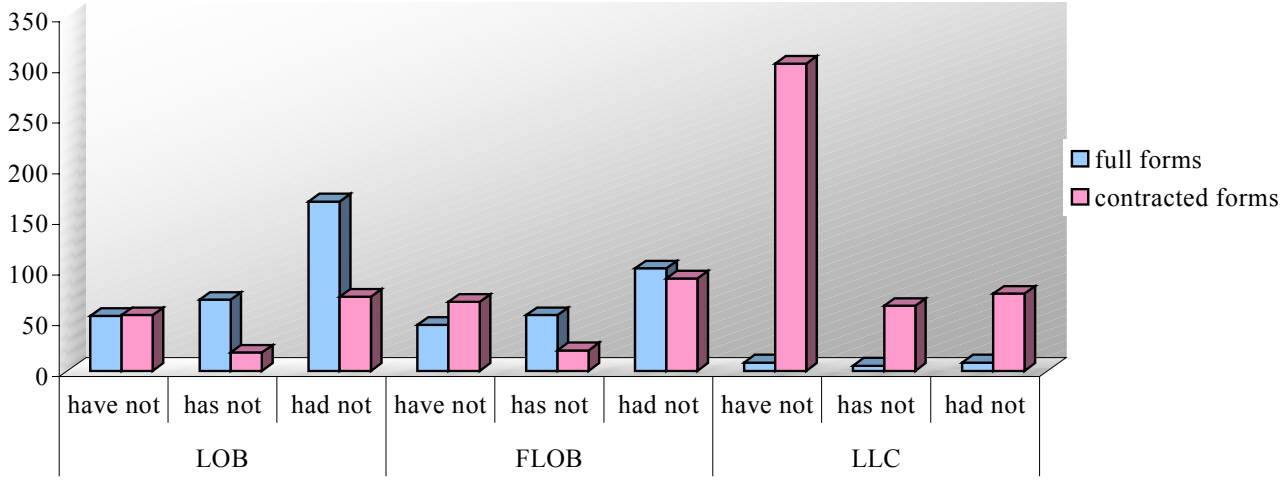
As stated in the preceding sections, the dichotomy auxiliary vs. main verb is a determining factor in the distribution of contracted forms. In the case of BrE, the *LOB* corpus is the only one in which contractions are more common with the auxiliary *be* than with *be* as a copula. By contrast, in both *FLOB* and *LLC*, fused

forms are more frequently used with *be* as a lexical verb (cf. Tables 22, 32 and 82 above). Concerning the use of OpeCs and NotCs, there is no distinction between written and spoken texts, NotCs being more common with copula *be*, and OpeCs with auxiliary *be*. Moreover, passive *be* favours the use of NotCs, while progressive *be* prefers OpeCs (cf. Tables 23, 33 and 83 above).

At first sight, no significant difference is detected between the operator *have* (cf. Tables 24, 34 and 84 above) and the verb *be*: once again, contractions are favoured in the spoken medium (NF 0.42 for UncNs vs. 8.9 for contractions), while full forms are preferred in the written language (NF 2.46 vs. 1.63). However, as regards the choice of contracted forms, both written and spoken texts behave similarly, NotCs being the predominant type (NF 0.07 for OpeCs vs. 1.39 for NotCs in *LOB*, NF 0.08 vs. 1.71 in *FLOB*, and NF 0.64 vs. 8.26 in *LLC*).

As regards the individual grammatical forms of the *have*-operator (cf. Tables 25, 35 and 85 above and Figure 42 below), fused forms, especially NotCs, are favoured with the three potentially contractible sequences, *have not*, *has not* and *had not*, in *LLC*. By contrast, in the written material from both *LOB* and *FLOB* contracted forms are only preferred with *have not*.

Figure 42. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *LOB*, *FLOB* and *LLC*



The choice of contractions in relation to the distinction lexical verb vs. auxiliary verb is also relevant to the *have*-operator. Generally speaking, contractions are used to a greater extent with lexical *have* in both written and spoken BrE texts. However, the written and the spoken media differs as regards the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs: while in *LOB* and in *LLC*, NotCs are more frequent with lexical *have* and OpeCs with auxiliary *have*, in *FLOB* both OpeCs and NotCs are more common with *have* as an lexical verb.

Another interesting aspect found in the comparison of the BrE corpora is the higher proportion of examples recorded with the form *got* in spoken texts (NF 1.96 in *LLC*) than in writing (NF 0.18 in *LOB* and 0.2 in *FLOB*). In this connection, it is also worth noting that *FLOB* favours the pattern of negation with *do*-support (63.11%), whereas both *LOB* (20%) and *LLC* (38.95%) prefer negation without the auxiliary *do*.

The remaining operators, *will* (cf. Tables 26, 36 and 86 above) and *would* (cf. Tables 27, 37 and 87 above), show similar patters of distribution in the spoken and the written media: in both cases, written texts prefer UncNs (NF 1.07 for UncNs vs. 0.97 for contractions with *will* and 1.35 vs. 1.02 with *would*), while contractions are favoured in the spoken language (NF 0.16 vs. 2.14 and 0.3 vs. 3.96 respectively). Moreover, the proportion of NotCs is higher than that of OpeCs in the three corpora with *will* and *would*.

In order to compare the behaviour of written and spoken texts in accordance to the type of subject, I have grouped the data corresponding to the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora (cf. Tables 28 and 38 above). The results are given in Table 112 below. The comparison of the data in this table with those of Table 88 above for the *LLC* corpus suggests that, in spoken BrE, contractions are preferred to UncNs with all kinds of subjects with the exception of complex NPs with the *be*-operator. By contrast, in written BrE, contractions are only favoured with simple pronominal subjects with the operators *will* and *would*, and in existential *there*-constructions with *be*, *will* and *would*. Thus, the general tendency to associate the use of contractions with those subject-types which are less complex, such as pronouns, and the use of full forms with more complex kinds of subject, such as NPs, it is not always followed, since the variation between alternative negative forms depends on several factors: operator, medium, type of subject and so on.

Table 112. Distribution of examples according to type of subject and operator in the written BrE corpora (*LOB*/*FLOB*)

		BE			HAVE			WILL			WOULD		TOTAL
	UncNs	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	**UncNs**	**OpeCs**	**NotCs**	
Simple Pronoun	623 (3.12)	285 (1.43)	89 (0.45)	274 (1.37)	13 (0.07)	250 (1.25)	101 (0.51)	11 (0.06)	144 (0.72)	138 (0.69)	3 (0.02)	164 (0.82)	2,095 (10.48)
Complex	3 (0.02)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	2 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	7 (0.04)
Simple	585 (2.93)	11 (0.06)	54 (0.27)	188 (0.94)	1 (0.01)	51 (0.26)	88 (0.44)	-	34 (0.17)	109 (0.55)	-	32 (0.16)	1,153 (5.77)
NP Complex	54 (0.27)	-	2 (0.01)	17 (0.09)	-	3 (0.02)	17 (0.09)	-	1 (0.01)	13 (0.07)	-	2 (0.01)	109 (0.55)
Compound	1 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	4 (0.02)
Exist. *there*	18 (0.09)	5 (0.03)	22 (0.11)	8 (0.04)	1 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	1 (0.01)	-	3 (0.02)	4 (0.02)	-	2 (0.01)	65 (0.33)
Clause	55 (0.28)	1 (0.01)	7 (0.04)	3 (0.02)	-	2 (0.01)	6 (0.03)	-	2 (0.01)	5 (0.03)	-	1 (0.01)	82 (0.41)
Other	2 (0.01)	-	-	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 (0.02)

Finally, concerning the string frequency factor (Krug 1998: 294), those sequences which are very commonly found both in written and in spoken BrE texts, especially those with simple pronouns such as *he is not*, are also the ones which favour the use of contractions to a greater extent.

3.6.3.2. *FROWN* vs. *CSPAE*

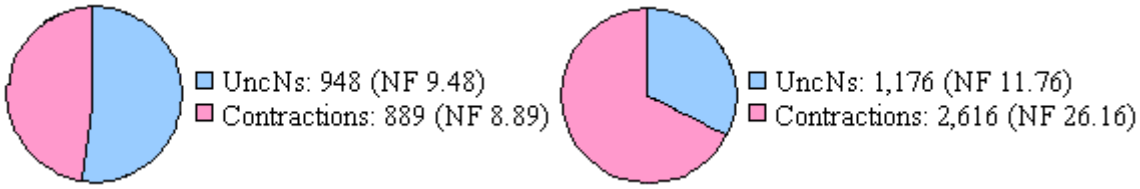
Let us proceed now to the analysis of the behaviour of contracted and uncontracted forms in written and spoken AmE. For this purpose, the data from the two AmE corpora from the 1990s, namely the spoken corpus *CSPAE* and the written corpus *FROWN*, will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.[84]

A comparison of the general data from both corpora (cf. Tables 49 and 89 above) yields the following results. As in the case of BrE (cf. Section 3.6.3.1. above), contractions, as expected, clearly predominate over UncNs in spoken AmE (NF 11.76 for UncNs vs. 26.16 for contractions), while in the written language the balance is reversed in favour of uncontracted forms (NF 9.48 for UncNs vs. 8.89 for contractions) (cf. Figure 43 below). However, the less informal categories in *FROWN* (from Cat K to R) are closer to the spoken texts in that fused forms are the preferred variant. This confirms the general association that contractions are mainly found in spoken material and "in written registers with a large admixture of spoken style, such as fiction writings" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129).

[84] I have decided to compare those written and spoken AmE texts which date from the same period. Thus, the *BROWN* corpus is not included in the analysis since, as mentioned in Section 1.1. above, it comprises only texts from the 1960s.

Figure 43. Negative forms in the AmE corpora

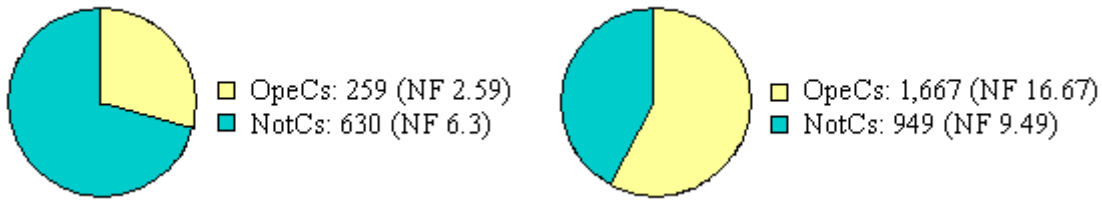
a. *FROWN* b. *CSPAE*



As far as contractions are concerned, NotCs outnumber OpeCs (NF 2.59 for OpeCs vs. 6.3 for NotCs) in the *FROWN* corpus, while the *CSPAE* shows a clear preference for OpeCs (NF 16.67 vs. 9.49, respectively) (cf. Figures 44a-b below). Such a predominance of OpeCs in the spoken AmE texts may be related to the high number of instances with *be*-operator recorded in *CSPAE*, which amount to 65.32% of the total of relevant instances in the whole corpus (cf. Section 3.5.2. above).

Figure 44. OpeCs and NotCs in the AmE corpora

a. *FROWN* b. *CSPAE*

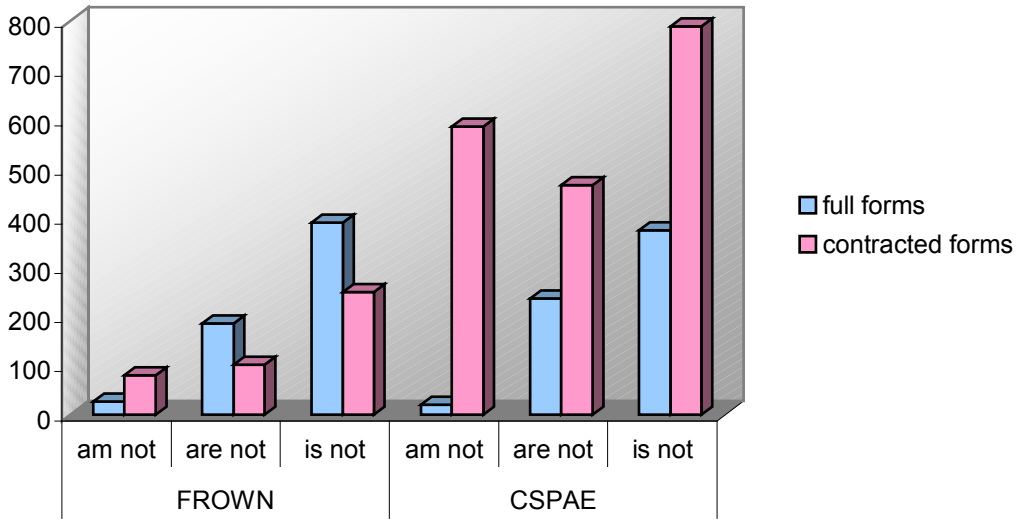


As shown in Tables 50 and 90 above, the *be*-operator also favours the use of UncNs over contractions in *FROWN* (NF 6.04 for UncNs vs. 4.32 for contractions), in contrast to the *CSPAE* (NF 6.34 vs. 18.43). Besides, in both corpora OpeCs predominate over NotCs (NF 2.54 for OpeCs vs. 1.78 for NotCs in *FROWN* and 16.54 vs. 1.89 in *CSPAE*), although the proportion of the two fused forms is more prominent in spoken AmE. In view of this, my AmE data

corroborate the assertions by Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among many others (cf. Section II.4.1. above), that the verb *be* favours the use of OpeCs rather than NotCs.

Concerning the individual forms of be, as shown in Tables 51 and 91 above, spoken texts favour the use of contractions to a greater extent than full forms with the *am not*, *are not* and *is not* sequences. By contrast, in written AmE (*FROWN*) contractions are only preferred with the first person singular *am not* (cf. Figure 45 below).

Figure 45. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *FROWN* and *CSPAE*



The data also suggest that the selection of OpeCs or NotCs is conditioned not only by medium, but also by the individual forms involved. Thus, in *CSPAE* the proportion of OpeCs outnumbers that of NotCs for the three grammatical forms under consideration; in *FROWN*, on the other hand, the proportion is higher only

for *is not* and *am not*, as expected given the lack of a standard NotC for the first person singular).

The number of occurrences of the form *ain't* recorded in my spoken AmE material is very low, only one example in White House 97B (WH 97B), probably due to the high degree of formality of the texts included in *CSPAE* (cf. Section 1.2. above). However, in the written corpus, the number of instances with such a form is considerably higher (44 examples), by far the highest among the nine corpora used in the present study. Besides, it is recorded not only in the most informal categories (from Cat K to R, with the exception of Cat M), but also in formal text-types (cf. Section 3.4.4. above), such all the Press categories (from Cat A to C) and Skills, trades and hobbies (Cat E).

One noteworthy difference between written and spoken AmE texts is the higher frequency of the contracted variants with the lexical verb *be* in *FROWN* and with *be* as an auxiliary in *CSPAE*, as shown in Tables 52 and 92 above. Thus, spoken AmE texts corroborate Quirk *et al*.'s (1985: 123) assertion about "the tendency for the contracted form to be more common when functioning as an auxiliary than as main verb," while written texts confirm the predominance of fused forms with lexical *be* mentioned by Philips & Reynolds (1987). As far as OpeCs and NotCs are concerned, the two corpora also behave differently: in the written medium lexical *be* is more commonly found with OpeCs, while NotCs are preferred with auxiliary *be*. On the other hand, in spoken AmE texts, the two contracted forms are evenly distributed with both copula *be* and auxiliary *be*.

Finally, in both spoken and written texts NotCs are more common with passive *be* and OpeCs with progressive VPs.

The operators *have* (cf. Tables 54 and 94 above), *will* (cf. Tables 56 and 96) and *would* (cf. Tables 57 and 97) behave somewhat differently from *be*, since both written and spoken texts favour the use of contractions rather than of UncNs (cf. Table 113 below), and NotC is the selected type of fused forms in both corpora. Nevertheless, as already noted, the ratio of both full forms and contractions is higher in the spoken corpus with all operators than in the written one.

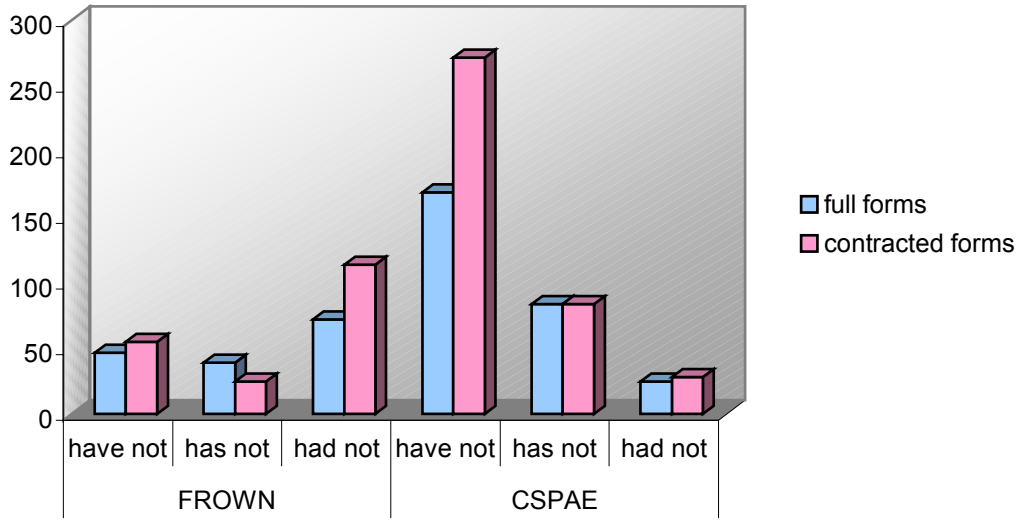
Table 113. Full forms and contractions with the operators *have*, *will* and *would* in *FROWN* and *CSPAE*

		FROWN	*CSPAE*
Have	Full forms	NF 1.58	NF 2.78
	Contractions	NF 1.94	NF 3.84
Will	Full forms	NF 0.87	NF 1.26
	Contractions	NF 1.38	NF 1.68
Would	Full forms	NF 0.99	NF 1.38
	Contractions	NF 1.25	NF 2.21

As regards the individual forms of the *have*-operator (cf. Tables 55 and 95 above), the data from *FROWN* differ from those of *CSPAE*. In the former corpus *have not* and *had not* favour the use of contractions; in the latter, by contrast, the preference for contractions is noticeable only for *have not* (169 instances of UncNs vs. 272 of contractions), while with *has not* and *had not* the variants are

evenly distributed (84 UncNs vs. 84 contracted forms, and 25 vs. 28, respectively), as seen in Figure 46 below.

Figure 46. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *have*-operator in *FROWN* and *CSPAE*



The two corpora also coincide in their preference for contractions with lexical *have*. However, noticeable differences are found between spoken and written AmE concerning the variation between the two contracted forms under consideration in relation to the function of *have*, whether main verb or auxiliary. In *FROWN*, both OpeCs and NotCs are more frequent with lexical *have* (*contra* Sinclair (1990: 453) or Biber *et al*. (1999: 1129)), while in *CSPAE* OpeCs are preferred with *have* as auxiliary for the perfect and NotCs are more common with lexical *have*.

As to type of subject and operator (see Tables 58 and 98 above), the two AmE corpora show similar results. In both *FROWN* and *CSPAE*, contractions are preferred with simple pronominal subjects and with all operators. The same

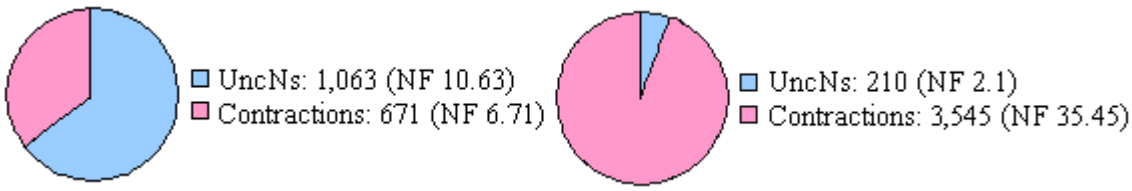
tendency applies to clauses with existential *there* as subject with all operators but *will* in *FROWN*, where no contraction has been recorded. By contrast, the UncN is preferred with more complex kinds of subjects, such as NPs or clauses, with all operators except *will* in the written corpus. Therefore, the idea that simple subjects favour the use of contractions while more complex subjects prefer full forms is corroborated by my AmE data, in both speech and writing.

3.6.3.3. *WWC* vs. *WSC*

The last comparison established here is the one between the written NzE corpus (*WWC*) and its spoken counterpart (*WSC*) in order to search for the main similarities and differences existing between them. As expected, contractions are far more frequent than UncNs in the spoken corpus, while in the written language UncNs predominate over negative contractions, as can be seen in Figure 47 below (cf. also Tables 69 and 99 above).

Figure 47. Distribution of negative contractions and uncontracted negatives in *WWC* and *WSC*

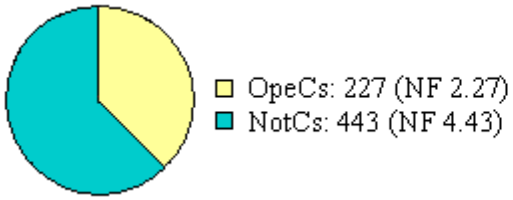
a. *WWC* b. *WSC*



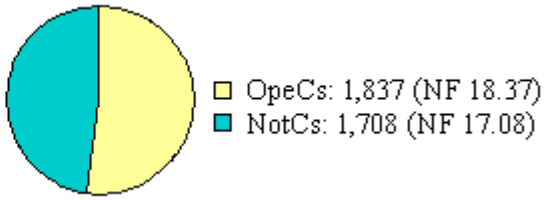
The two corpora also show differences as regards the use of contractions. Thus, while in the written corpus there is a predominance of NotCs (NF 4.43) over OpeCs (NF 2.27), the latter variant is the preferred contracted type in the spoken corpus (NF 18.37 OpeCs vs. 17.08 NotCs), as illustrated in Figure 48 below.

Figure 48. Distribution of contractions in the NzE corpora

a. *WWC*



b. *WSC*



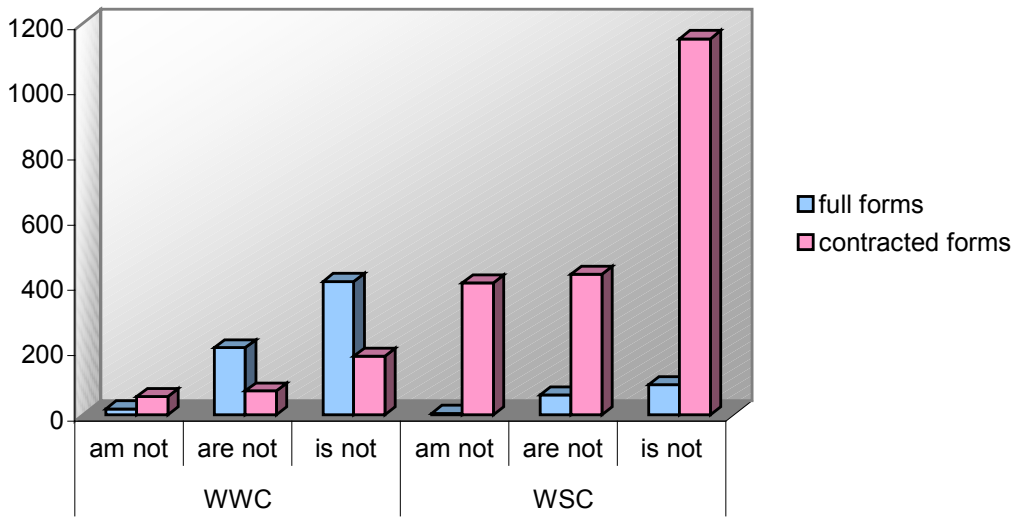
The second factor studied in both corpora is related to the use of contractions according to the degree of formality of the texts. In *WWC* the most formal categories (A to J) favour the use of UncNs over contractions, while contractions clearly predominate over uncontracted forms in informal text-types (Cat K) (cf. Section 3.4.6. above). By contrast, in *WSC* there is an overall preference for contractions not only in informal categories, such as Conversation (DPC), but also in very formal texts, such as Parliamentary debate (DGU), the only exception being that of Cat MST (Broadcast Monologue), where UncN forms predominate (cf. Section 3.5.3. above). Such a pattern of distribution allows me to conclude that the degree of formality of the texts does not condition the selection of contractions or uncontracted negatives on its own. Rather, medium, i.e. written vs. spoken language, seems to be the decisive factor in such a choice.

Let us consider now the distribution of the variants under study in relation to the kind of operator used. As regards the *be*-operator, in *WWC* UncNs predominate over contractions (NF 6.33 for UncNs vs. 3.06 for contractions), while the latter are by far the preferred choice in the spoken corpus (NF 1.57 vs. 19.89), as Tables 70 and 100 clearly demonstrate. However, in the written corpus the less formal category (Cat K) comes closer to the texts in the spoken corpus,

negative contractions predominating over uncontracted forms (NF 2.46 vs. 7.41). Moreover, the proportion of OpeCs is higher than that of NotCs with this operator in both corpora (NF 2.17 for OpeCs vs. 0.89 for contractions in *WWC* and NF 18.23 vs. 1.66 in *WSC*). As becomes evident from these figures, this is especially noticeable in the spoken corpus. However, in both corpora there is some evidence that this does not hold true for all categories, thus confirming that the preference of *be* for OpeCs depends on a combination of factors.

As far as individual forms of the verb are concerned (cf. Tables 71 and 101 above), the data in the written corpus differ from those of the spoken language regarding the predominance of full forms with the string *are not* and *is not*, while in *WSC* fused forms outnumber UncNs with the three forms under analysis, as Figure 49 below demonstrates. Besides, both corpora coincide in their preference for OpeCs rather than NotCs with the three grammatical forms of the verb *be*.

Figure 49. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *be*-operator in *WWC* and *WSC*

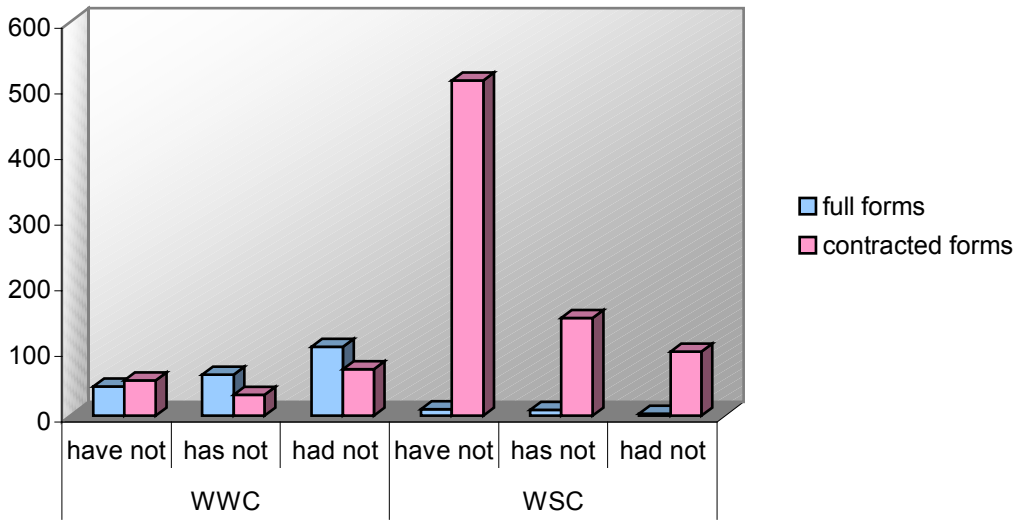


In NzE (both written and spoken) contractions are favoured with the lexical verb *be* rather than when it functions as an auxiliary, as seen in Tables 72 and 102 above. Furthermore, when dealing with the variation between OpeC and NotC, in both corpora NotCs predominate with lexical *be*, whereas OpeCs are used to a greater extent with *be* as an auxiliary. As regards the distinction between progressive *be* and passive *be*, the two corpora behave in a similar way, since the proportional use of NotCs with passives is higher than with progressives, while the latter favour the OpeC variant (cf. Tables 73 and 103 above).

As in the case with the *be*-operator, the data obtained for *have* in written NzE texts differ substantially from those of the spoken language. In the former medium, UncNs are the preferred option (NF 2.13 vs. 1.57), while contractions, especially NotCs, clearly outnumber full forms in the latter (NF 0.22 vs. 7.58) (cf. Tables 74 and 104 above). On the other hand, there are certain similarities between the two corpora, such as the clear predominance of NotCs over OpeCs in all text-types where both kinds of contraction have been found.

Figure 50 below shows that the predominance of contractions over full forms is also evident in *WSC* with all individual forms of the verb *have*, while in the *WWC* corpus this holds true only for the form *have not* (45 examples of UncNs vs. 54 for contractions), as shown in Tables 75 and 105 above. As far as contractions are concerned, the two corpora behave in the same way, since NotCs are by far the most frequent option in both speech and writing.

Figure 50. Full forms and contractions with individual forms of the *have*-operator in *WWC* and *WSC*



As for the *be*-operator mentioned above, contractions with the verb *have* predominate when it is used as a lexical verb. However, once again, the variation between OpeCs and NotCs in relation to the dichotomy lexical vs. auxiliary *have* turns out to be a clear distinctive marker between the two media in NzE: in *WSC* both kinds of contracted forms occur more frequently with lexical *have*, whereas in *WWC* OpeCs are used to a greater extent when *have* is an auxiliary.

Another feature which has caught my attention concerns the use of the *have got* construction: while in written NzE its proportion per 10,000 words is as low as 0.17, in the spoken language it rises up to 1.58. Such a difference may be related to the degree of negation of lexical *have* with *do*. As seen in Sections 3.4.6. and 3.5.3. above, the number of examples recorded with *do*-support in *WWC* is somewhat higher than in its spoken counterpart (68.83% vs. 63.8%,

respectively), which may go a long way towards explaining the higher frequency of negative forms with *got* in *WSC*.

Concerning *will*, the data obtained in both corpora are similar to those found for *be* and *have*, since contractions are much more commonly used than uncontracted negatives in *WSC* (NF 0.13 for full forms vs. 3.43 for contractions), while UncNs are used to a greater extent in *WWC* (NF 1.07 vs. 0.96), as shown in Tables 76 and 106 above. Another important similarity between the two NzE corpora is the fact that, in very formal categories, such as Learned and scientific writings (Cat J) in *WWC* and DGU (Parliamentary debate) in *WSC*, the UncN variant is by far the most frequent choice. Furthermore, when dealing with contractions, both corpora behave in the same way, NotCs clearly predominating over OpeCs in all text-types. In fact, the OpeC with *will* seems to be a highly marked variant in NzE, since only three examples have been recorded in *WWC*.

The comparison of the data in Tables 77 and 107 above reveals the most significant features in the behaviour of *would* in the NzE variety. In *WWC*, in contrast to the three operators analysed so far, *would* shows an even distribution of the variants (NF 1.1 UncNs vs. 1.11 contractions), whereas in *WSC* contractions, especially NotCs, are the predominant pattern of negation. On the other hand, of the two contracted types, as with *will*, NotC is by far the most productive counterpart in both spoken and written NzE, the number of OpeCs recorded being very low (two examples in *WWC* and just one in *WSC*).

Finally, concerning the patterns of distribution of the three variant negative forms depending on the nature of the subject of the clause, some conclusions can be drawn from the comparison of the data in the two corpora (cf. Tables 78 and 108 above). While in *WSC* contractions are clearly preferred to UncNs with pronominal subjects, in *WWC* contractions predominate over UncNs with subjects of this kind with all operators except *be*. Another important difference detected between the two corpora is that, with simple NPs, UncNs prevail over contractions in *WWC* with the four operators under analysis. By contrast, in *WSC*, contractions represent the most common alternative. The data in both corpora are also different when dealing with complex NPs and clausal subjects: full forms are the preferred option in *WWC*, while contractions outweigh UncN forms in *WSC*. By contrast, as regards existential *there*-constructions, both corpora behave similarly, with contractions predominating over UncNs with all operators in the case of the *WSC*, and with all operators except *would* in *WWC*.

As in the case of the other corpora, in NzE string frequency plays an important role in the distribution of contractions and full forms, since the former tend to be more common with those sequences which are more frequently used. By contrast, full forms are preferred with less frequent strings. Thus, for instance, the potentially contractible sequence *he is not* favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than low-frequency combinations, such as *the government is not*, as seen in Sections 3.4.6. and 3.5.3. above.

3.6.4. Summary

From a diachronic point of view, the analysis of *LOB* and *FLOB*, on the one hand, and *BROWN* and *FROWN*, on the other, has revealed the existence of a considerable increase in the use of contractions from the 1960s to the 1990s, both in BrE and in AmE, although full forms are still the preferred negative variant in both dialects. Another important characteristic is that, while NotCs are more common than OpeCs with *be* in AmE from the 1990s, the latter contracted variant predominates in texts from the 1960s. Therefore, the data from the *BROWN* corpus do not reflect the expected preponderance of OpeCs reported by Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among many others.

From a dialectal point of view, the evidence from written English suggests that, in the four dialects under consideration, BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE, uncontracted negatives are the predominant choice. There is, however, a greater fondness for contractions in AmE than in the three other dialects, NotC being the preferred negative contracted form. In the case of spoken English, contractions are more common than full forms in the three dialects analysed in the present piece of research, BrE, AmE and NzE. Nevertheless, the proportion of fused forms is lower in AmE than in the other varieties due to the formality of the texts of the *CSPAE* corpus. Regarding contractions, both AmE and NzE prefer OpeCs to NotCs, while the latter contracted type is the predominant form in BrE texts.

As regards medium, the tendency is to favour the uncontracted negative variant in written texts, whereas in speech contractions are preferred to a greater extent. The degree of formality of the texts also plays a role here, since UncNs predominate in written formal texts, while in those texts more closely related to the spoken style, contractions seem to be the favourite option.

3.7. Comparisons with Related Studies

The comparisons across the different corpora used in this study presented in Section 3.6. above will be complemented with a comparative account of the results obtained from my analysis and those provided in earlier research on the topic concerning the selection of the three alternative ways of negation in different varieties of English.

As mentioned in Section II.3.1.1. above, Biber (1987) studied the use of contracted and full forms in some categories of the *LOB* and the *BROWN* corpora, in order to establish comparisons between BrE and AmE. He concludes that AmE favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than BrE even in the most formal text-types, fused forms in the *LOB* corpus being virtually non-existent. Similar conclusions are reached by Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 81ff): in their data AmE accepts contraction of *not* in the written language to a greater extent than BrE does. Moreover, in Biber's (1987) material, contractions are, in general, more common in the informal categories than in the most formal ones. This is also confirmed in Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert's (2002: 81ff) analysis, where full forms are favoured in what they call 'informative registers',

such as News, Tutorials or Written descriptive texts, while 'interactive registers,' such as Conversation or Written dialogue, prefer the contracted variant (cf. Section II.3.1.1.). In my study, the dichotomy informal vs. formal registers also holds in the four written dialects, since contractions outnumber full forms in the most informal categories, that is, the fictional text-types.

Kjellmer (1998), in turn, also studied the distribution of the three variants of negation under consideration in the *LOB* corpus (cf. Sections II.3.1.1. and II.3.2.3.1. above), concluding that, in written BrE texts, uncontracted negatives are more numerous than contracted variants, and that NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators but *be*. He also mentions that, as in Biber's (1987) study, the most formal categories (Cat A to J) are those in which contractions are less commonly used. However, he also adds that, in an informal text-type such as Science fiction (Cat M), the number of contracted forms is lower than in the other fictional categories, and in this respect, the data recorded here is closer to those obtained in the highly formal category (Learned and scientific writings (Cat J)). In principle, my results for the *LOB* corpus should not differ much from those obtained by Kjellmer, and this is, in fact, the case, full forms predominating in the most formal kind of texts (from A to J, and in M (Science fiction)) and contractions being more common in the informal categories (from K to R). However, it must be noted that, as regards *LOB*, Kjellmer's data do not entirely coincide with mine, since he found only 988 negative occurrences of the variants at issue with simple pronominal and existential *there*-constructions as subjects (cf. Figure 1 above and Table 20 in Kjellmer 1998: 180), while, as shown in Table 28

above, I have recorded a total of 1,077 examples with pronominal subjects and 36 instances in clauses of the existential type (KO contexts excluded).

As stated in Sections II.3.2.3.2. and II.4.1. above, Hiller (1987) also analysed the distribution of OpeCs and NotCs in a collection of spoken BrE texts and in BrE and AmE written texts, reaching the conclusion that, in both dialects, there is an overall predominance of NotCs over OpeCs with all operators except *be*. Similar results are obtained in the present study for both BrE and AmE. However, as already mentioned, this statement does not hold true for the AmE corpus from the 1960s (the *BROWN* corpus), where NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators, *be* included.

In what follows, I will compare the use of contractions and full forms in Biber *et al*.'s (1999) data for BrE (cf. Sections II.3.1.1. and II.3.2.3.1. above) and those obtained in my corpus for the same dialect (*LOB*, *FLOB* and *LLC*) (cf. Sections 3.4.1, 3.4.2. and 3.5.1 above).[85] As already seen (cf. section II.3.1.1.), these scholars selected for their analysis four different textual categories, namely News, Academic Prose, Fiction and Conversation, all of them from BrE. Their study, thus, includes not only written texts, but also spoken material. They conclude that contractions are mainly used in spoken texts or in those written texts which are similar to the spoken style, while in formal texts, such as Academic prose, UncNs seem to be preferable (1999: 166, 1129). They also affirm that, in

[85] Although most texts analysed by Biber *et al*. (1999: 26) date from the 1980s, I have decided to compare their results with those obtained for all my BrE texts, since my spoken BrE corpus contains material from the 1960s to the 1990s (cf. Table 10 above). In this respect, the comparison with Biber *et al*.'s data will be made without taking into account the date of compilation of the texts.

written texts, both NotCs and OpeCs are mainly found in Fiction (1999: 166, 1129).

In order to contrast my data with Biber *et al*.'s, some correspondences have been established between their textual categories and some of the text-types of my written and spoken corpora. The equivalences are the following:

Biber *et al*. (1999)		**BrE corpora in the present study (*LOB*, *FLOB*, *LLC*)**
News	=	All press categories (A-C) in *LOB* and *FLOB*
Academic prose	=	Learned and scientific writings (J) in *LOB* and *FLOB*
Fiction	=	General fiction (K), Mystery and detective fiction (L), Science fiction (M), Adventure and western fiction (N), Romance and love story (P) in *LOB* and *FLOB*
Conversation	=	Conversation between equals (S.1 and S.2), Conversation between disparates (S.3), Conversations between intimates and equals (S.4), Conversations (S.5), Non-surreptitious conversations between disparates (S.6), Surreptitious telephone conversations between personal friends (S.7), Surreptitious telephone conversations between business associates (S.8) and Surreptitious telephone conversations between disparates (S.9) in *LLC*

The distribution of full forms and contractions in my corpus in these four general categories is shown in Table 114 below. The data in Table 114 reveal that my corpus differs from Biber *et al*.'s, since here not only does Academic prose favour the use of UncNs over contractions, but also News. For the remaining categories, my results are similar to Biber *et al*.'s, since contractions are specially used in spoken texts, that is, in Conversation, and also in the written medium in those text-types closer to the spoken language, as is the case with Fiction.

Table 114. UncN/OpeC/NotC variants in the BrE corpora according to four general textual categories

	Number of words in each category	UncNs	OpeCs	NotCs	TOTAL
News	352,000	466 (13.24)	29 (0.82)	101 (2.87)	596
Academic prose	320,000	421 (13.16)	3 (0.09)	7 (0.22)	431
Fiction	468,000	330 (7.05)	260 (5.56)	626 (13.38)	1,216
Conversation	380,000	102 (2.68)	628 (16.53)	849 (22.34)	1,579
TOTAL	1,556,000	1,319 (13.19)	920 (9.2)	1,583 (15.83)	3,822

Other features considered by Biber *et al*. (1999) are type of clause and type of subject (cf. Section II.3.2.3.4. above). They analyse only the occurrences of *is* and *are* plus *not* in their contracted forms and argue that NotCs with *be* are mainly found in clause initial position, while OpeCs with this operator are mostly found in clause final position and with pronominal subjects. Taking into account that clause initial position has been considered here a KO context for OpeC (cf. Sections II.3.2.2.1. and III.3.2.1 above) and that I have analysed all forms of the present of the operator *be*, including the first person singular, no comparison is possible with Biber *et al*.'s results in this respect.

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The present study has been concerned with the distribution of negative contractions and uncontracted negatives in contemporary written and spoken English. My point of departure has been the distinction between two types of negation following the criteria given by Klima (1964), Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Huddleston (1995): on the one hand, clausal negation, by means of which the whole clause is made negative, and, on the other, subclausal negation, in which only one part of the clause is negated. Such a distinction proves to be especially relevant for my purposes, since my study has been devoted only to negation at clause level, i.e. those cases in which the negator *not* modifies the whole clause and is placed after the first operator. Clausal negation with *not* can be expressed in PDE in three different ways: (a) uncontracted negatives or full forms, (b) operator contractions and (c) *not*-contractions. In English, there are 16 operators which can be negated by means of post-verbal *not*: *be*, *have*, *do*, *will*, *would*, *shall*, *should*, *can*, *could*, *must*, *may*, *might*, *dare*, *need*, *ought to* and *used to*, but not all of them allow the three different alternative ways of negation mentioned above. In fact, only *be* (in the present tense), *have* (both in the present and in the past), *will* and *would* allow UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs. Therefore, my study has been restricted to those operators which allow interchangeability between these three different patterns of negation (cf. Section II.1.).

Although negative contracted forms have existed in English from the time of the earliest written records, negative contractions have undergone considerable diachronic changes. Therefore, I have considered it appropriate to provide an outline of the most important developments in the system of negation and in negative contractions from the early stages of the English language up to PDE. These changes are delineated in Section II.2.

After this brief account of the relevant historical background to the topic of clausal negation and negative contractions, the selection of the three variants at issue is analysed in more detail. In doing so, I have considered a number of factors which have been discussed in the literature on the topic as conditioning the choice of one form over the others. Among these determinants of variation, we find the following:

(a) Type of text (cf. Section II.3.1.1.). Following scholars such as Fries (1940: 8), Forsheden (1983: 36), Quirk *et al*. (1985: 123ff) or Biber (1988: 243), among many others, contractions have traditionally been associated with informal text-types and with conversation due to fast and easy production. Thus, for example, Biber (1987) mentions that contractions are practically non-existent in formal categories, such as Official documents and Academic prose, whereas the frequency of negative contractions is higher in fictional texts. The dichotomy formal vs. informal texts is also confirmed by Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 91; 800) or Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 81ff).

(b) Geographical variation (cf. Section II.3.1.2.). The choice of contractions varies from dialect to dialect. Thus, for instance, in AmE contractions are used to a greater extent than in BrE, even in written and formal text-types (cf. Biber 1987: 11f; Tottie 1991: 12; Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert 2002: 80ff). The use of the form *ain't* for the operators *be* and *have* is also a dialectal marker, since its use is more recurrent in AmE than in BrE texts.

(c) Social stratification (cf. Section II.3.1.3.). Following Freeborn (1986) or Jørgensen (1979), among others, contractions such as *ain't* are considered as non-standard and illiterate and are mainly associated with the speech of lower social classes.

(d) Gender and age (cf. Section II.3.1.4.). Contractions are more commonly used among the youngest and, in general, men tend to use contractions more frequently than women (cf. Coates 1986: 119f).

(e) Structural factors, such as type of clause, or type of subject (cf. Section II.3.1.5.). According to Kjellmer (1998: 175ff), Westergren (1998: 135ff), Biber *et al*. (1999: 1131) or Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 85), contractions are more common in interrogatives, especially in question tags, and in imperative clauses than in declaratives. Moreover, contractions tend to be associated with auxiliary verbs rather than with lexical verbs for Quirk *et al*. (1985: 123) or Kjellmer (1998: 164), whereas scholars such as Philips & Reynolds (1987) affirm that with the operator

> *be* contractions are preferred when it functions as a lexical verb. Concerning the type of subject, contractions tend to be associated with pronominal subjects and full forms with more complex subject-types, such as clauses or NPs (cf. Greenbaum 1977: 99; Kjellmer 1998: 161; Biber *et al*. 1999: 1129, among many others). Likewise, string frequency, that is, the frequency with which two or more items co-occur in a text also plays an important role in the distribution of contractions and uncontracted negatives; as Krug (1998: 294) puts it, "the more frequent a given string is […], the higher is its contraction ratio."

As regards the two types of negative contractions available in English (cf. Section II.3.2.), NotCs are considerably more frequent than OpeCs. According to Quirk *et al*. (1985), Biber *et al*. (1999) or Kortmann (2003), among others, NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators allowing both contracted types, except *be*. This overall predominance of NotCs over OpeCs is undoubtedly related to the general tendency in the languages of the world for suffixation over prefixation, since VO languages (such as PDE) prefer the use of suffixes. This view is grounded on the assumption that *n't* is an affix rather than a clitic, following Zwicky & Pullum (1982) (cf. Section II.3.2.1.). However, the selection of one of the two contracted variants may be blocked by several constraints, which constitute the knockout contexts analysed in Section II.3.2.2. In Section II.3.2.3., in turn, the conditioning factors which determine the choice of OpeCs versus NotCs in those cases in which both variants are allowed have been introduced, providing information from those scholars, such as Hiller (1987), Kjellmer

(1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002) and Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002), who have paid some attention to the topic. The determining factors discussed here are: (a) text-type (Section II.3.2.3.1.); (b) geographical variation (Section II.3.2.3.2.); (c) gender (Section II.3.2.3.3.), (d) structural factors (Section II.3.2.3.4.), and, finally, (e) phonological factors (Section II.3.2.3.5.).

The first part of the study devoted to the review of the literature on the topic closes with the individual analysis of those verbs which allow the interchangeability of the three variants under study, that is, the operators *be*, *have*, *will* and *would* (cf. Section II.4.)

The second part of this dissertation comprises a corpus-based study of the distribution of uncontracted and contracted negatives in contemporary English texts. For this purpose, nine computerised corpora of PDE have been selected: three corpora of BrE texts: two written, namely the *LOB* and *FLOB* corpora, and one spoken, the *LLC* corpus; three corpora of AmE texts, two written, namely the *BROWN* and the *FROWN* corpora, and one spoken, the *CSPAE* corpus; one corpus of written AusE, the *ACE* corpus; and, finally, two corpora of NzE: one written, the *WWC* corpus, and the other spoken, the *WSC* corpus. The first sections of the second part of my study have been concerned with a brief description of these nine corpora and with the problems I had to face when dealing with the data drawn from them (cf. Section III.1.).

As mentioned above, this study is restricted to those operators which allow the three kinds of negation, UncNs, OpeCs and NotCs. In this respect, the present piece of research contrasts with earlier studies on the topic where such a restriction is not found. These forms are: *am not*, *are not*, *is not*, *'m not*, *'re not*, *'s not* (for both *is* and *has*), *ain't*, *aren't*, *isn't*, *have not*, *has not*, *had not*, *'ve not*, *'d not* (for both *had* and *would*), *haven't*, *hasn't*, *hadn't*, *will not*, *'ll not* (for both *will* and *shall*), *won't*, *shall not*, *shan't*, *would not* and *wouldn't*. However, not all the occurrences of these forms identified in the nine corpora listed above (24,708 examples in all) have been included in the total count. The following cases have been excluded (956 examples): (a) instances of subclausal negation (cf. Section III.2.1.); (b) some verbal forms which are neutralised between two different operators (cf. Section III.2.2.); (c) the negative forms of *shall* (cf. Section III.2.3.); (d) the negative forms of *had better* and *would rather* (cf. Section III.2.4.); and (e) other exclusions not included in any of the previous groups (cf. Section III.2.5.). The instances with *shall* deserve especial mention. They have been excluded from the count in spite of the fact that some scholars maintain that this verb also has the three alternatives to negate. Nevertheless, following Quirk *et al*. (1985) and taking into account historical information, *'ll* has been considered here the contraction of *will* rather than that of *shall*. This way, *shall* does not allow OpeC. Moreover, I have decided to exclude all the examples of *had better* and *would rather* since, as Quirk *et al*. (1985) or Denison (1998), among others, affirm, the NotC of these expressions is restricted to occur in negative questions, and thus interchangeability is not freely allowed.

The exclusions mentioned in the preceding paragraph left me with a total of 23,752 relevant examples to be analysed, out of which 9,151 (38.53%) are UncNs, 5,423 (22.83%) correspond to OpeCs and 9,178 (38.64%) to NotCs. This means that, in the texts used for this piece of research, there is a general preference for contractions over full forms. However, not all these instances allowed the interchangeability of the three variant forms under consideration. Different knockout contexts preventing the use of, at least, one of the three alternative forms have been identified in the corpus (cf. Section III.3.2.), the most important of which are:

(a) On the one hand, OpeC is not allowed in the following environments:

- yes-no questions and *wh*-questions with subject-verb inversion;
- question tags;
- conditional clauses with subject-operator inversion;
- the second clause of a compound sentence in which the subject is elided under identity with that of the first clause;
- declarative clauses without an overt grammatical subject;
- examples containing the third person singular present of *be* or *have* after a subject ending in *-s*;
- clauses in which the subject and the operator are separated by intervening elements;
- cases in which the speaker emphasises both the operator and the negator; and
- instances where the speaker makes a pause between the subject and the operator.

(b) On the other hand, NotC is not allowed in split VPs and in clauses in which the speaker emphasises both the subject and the operator or when he/she makes a pause between the operator and the negator.

Once KO contexts have been identified and analysed, the remaining instances of the forms at issue (19,067 in all) have been considered true variants, since the selection of one form over the others does not respond to grammatical constraints but is conditioned by factors such as dialect (BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE), medium (written vs. spoken language), date of compilation of the texts (the 1960s vs. the 1990s in written BrE and AmE), register (both formal and informal text-types), type of operator (*be*, *have*, *will* and *would*), type of subject (pronouns, noun phrases, clauses, existential *there* and other subject-types) or string frequency. The evidence presented in Section III.3.3. has led me to the following conclusions:

1. In general terms, my corpus shows an overall preference for contractions over full forms (40.04% for UncNs vs. 59.96% for contracted forms). However, in the written corpora the balance is reversed in favour of the uncontracted variant.

2. As regards the choice of contracted forms, NotCs are, by far, the most frequent variant. Nevertheless, this does not hold true for all operators since, with the operator *be*, OpeCs seem to be preferred in all corpora, with the exception of *BROWN*, thus confirming the statements found in the

literature on the topic by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) and Anderwald (2002), among many others.

3. Contractions predominate over full forms with simple pronouns as subjects and in existential-*there* constructions, while with more complex subject-types, such as NPs or clauses, there is a preference for the uncontracted variant.

In Sections III.3.4. and III.3.5., I have proceeded to analyse each of the nine corpora individually. The examination of the written corpora yielded the following results:

a. The state of affairs described in the literature as regards the predominance of UncNs over negative contractions in written texts is confirmed here, since full forms are the predominant option in the four dialects under consideration (BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE).

b. The selection between contractions and uncontracted forms is also determined by the type of text. Thus, formal texts tend to favour UncNs over contractions, while in informal text categories there is an overall preference for contractions. My data thus confirm the statements by Biber (1987), Kjellmer (1998) or Biber *et al*. (1999). This is especially so in fictional categories, due to their proximity to the spoken discourse. By contrast, the lowest proportion of contractions occurs in the most formal kinds of texts, such as Miscellaneous (Cat H) and Learned and scientific writings (Cat J).

c. The preference for UncNs is also evident when dealing with individual operators, since all the verbs analysed favour the use of full forms. The only exception to this tendency is found in the *FROWN* corpus, where contractions seem to be preferred to UncNs with all operators except *be*.

d. As far as negative contractions are concerned, there is a general tendency for NotCs over OpeCs with all operators but *be*, thus corroborating what has been mentioned in the literature on the topic. However, such a preference for OpeCs with *be* is not attested in all textual categories and in all corpora, *BROWN* being the exception.

e. Contractions are more frequently used with the lexical verb *be* than with the auxiliary *be* in all corpora with the exception of *LOB* and *BROWN*. For the operator *have*, on the other hand, all written corpora select contractions to a greater extent when it functions as a lexical verb. In this respect, my data run counter to the assertions by Quirk *et al*. (1985), Sinclair (1990) or Biber *et al*. (1999) that contractions are more likely to occur with auxiliaries than with main verbs. It must be noted, however, that the two types of contracted forms do not always exhibit the same patterns of distribution. Thus, the lexical verb *be* prefers NotCs, while OpeCs are more common with auxliary *be* in all written corpora with the exception of *FROWN*. When dealing with the two auxiliary uses of the verb *be*, in BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE progressive *be* favours the use of contractions to a greater extent than passive *be* (cf. Biber *et al*. 1999). However, NotCs are

more likely to occur with *be* as a passive auxiliary than with *be* as a progressive marker. With the operator *have* the tendency is to use OpeCs when it functions as an auxiliary in all corpora with the exception of the most recent ones, those from the 1990s (*FLOB* and *FROWN*), where both types of fused forms are more common with lexical *have* than with auxiliary *have*.

f. As regards type of subject, in general terms, it can be said that contractions, mainly NotCs, are preferred with simple pronominal subjects and with existential *there* as subject, while uncontracted negative forms are favoured over contractions with the remaining subject-types. In relation to this, Krug's (1998) string frequency factor plays an important role in the distribution of the negative variants, since contractions are favoured with those sequences which are more commonly used, while the proportion of fused forms decreases with strings of low frequency (cf. Section II.3.1.5).

The major conclusions obtained from the evidence presented in Section III.3.5. concerning the distribution of contractions and full forms in the spoken corpora are the following:

a. Contractions predominate over uncontracted forms in the three spoken corpora. This contrasts starkly with the preference for full forms mentioned above for the written medium.

b. Such a preference for contractions also holds true for all individual text-types, since the contracted variant is the most frequently selected option not only in the less formal categories, but also in the most formal ones.

c. Contrary to my expectations, both in spoken AmE and NzE OpeCs prevail over NotCs, while the latter contracted type is more common in spoken BrE. It must be noticed here that the preponderance of OpeCs in AmE and NzE is undoubtedly related to the high number of OpeCs with *be* in these two corpora (99.22% in *CSPAE* and 99.24% in *WSC*), and, as mentioned above, this operator tends to favour the use of contractions of this kind.

d. Concerning those operators which can function as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries (*be* and *have*), in spoken English contractions are used to a greater extent with the lexical verb *be* than with the auxiliary *be* both in BrE and NzE, thus confirming Philips & Reynolds' (1987) assertion that contractions are used to a greater extent when *be* is a main verb. The state of affairs described for BrE and NzE contrasts with the one found in AmE, where the two types of fused forms are favoured with *be* as an auxiliary. However, the most significant feature detected here is the greater use of contractions with passives than with progressives in the three dialects under study, which runs counter to the descriptions found in the literature (cf. Biber *et al*. (1999), among others). On the other hand, contracted forms of the *have*-operator are mainly associated with its lexical use in the three corpora, *contra* Sinclair (1990) or Biber *et al*. (1999).

e. As far as subject-types are concerned, contractions once again predominate with all kinds of subjects, except with NPs in *CSPAE*, which favour the use of full forms. Moreover, as is the case with the written corpora, in the spoken texts, those sequences which show a higher frequency of occurrence are also those which contain a larger number of contracted forms, thus confirming the relevance of Krug's string frequency to the variation between contracted and uncontracted counterparts.

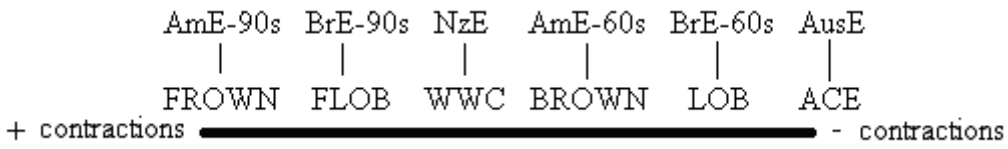
Once the individual analyses of each corpus have been evaluated, I have drawn a number of comparisons between the different corpora used in this piece of research (cf. Section III.3.6.). The aim of such comparisons is the establishment of differences and similarities across corpora according to the following criteria: (a) diachronic changes in the selection of variants from the 1960s to the 1990s in both BrE and AmE (Section III.3.6.1.); (b) dialect distinctions (Section III.3.6.2.); and, finally, (c) comparisons regarding medium, i.e. written vs. spoken texts (Section III.3.6.3.). The analysis of these potential determinants of variation has led me to the following conclusions:

1. From a diachronic point of view, the comparison of the *LOB* and the *FLOB* corpora for BrE and *BROWN* and *FROWN* for AmE reveals that in the 1990s contractions are more numerous than in the 1960s. In fact, contractions have been gaining ground in the last decades of the twentieth century not only in informal texts, but also in formal categories, in both varieties. However, in these two dialects, full forms still are the preferred negative variant in written texts. As far as contractions are concerned, it

must be noted that the predominance of NotCs over OpeCs with all operators except *be* mentioned by scholars such as Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) or Anderwald (2002), among many others, does not hold true for AmE from the 1960s.

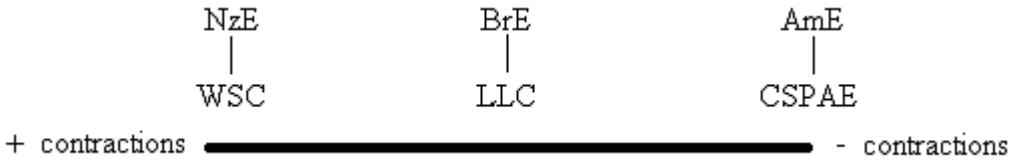
2. From a dialectal point of view, the state of affairs described in the literature about the higher frequency of contractions in AmE than in other contemporary dialects is confirmed in my study only for the written corpora. Although, as already mentioned, in written English uncontracted negatives are the predominant type, there is a greater fondness for contractions in the AmE variety than in BrE, AusE or NzE, as shown in Figure 28 (Section III.3.6.2.1.), repeated here for convenience.

Figure 28. Degree of contraction in written texts according to dialect



By contrast, in spoken English, contractions, the predominant variant, are more numerous in NzE than in either BrE or AmE, as shown in Figure 35 (repeated here for convenience).

Figure 35. Degree of contraction in spoken texts according to dialect



However, the proportional difference between contracted and full forms in the spoken corpora is lower in AmE than in the two other dialects, due to the higher degree of formality of the texts included in *CSPAE*. As regards contractions, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs in the written texts, while in the spoken material, such a preference only holds true in BrE, since in both AmE and NzE OpeCs are the predominant contracted type. As mentioned above, this preponderant use of OpeCs over NotCs may be related to the large number of occurrences of the operator *be*, which, according to some scholars, favours the use of this negative contracted variant.

3. As far as medium is concerned, in written texts uncontracted negatives clearly predominate over contractions, while the distribution of the two variants is reversed in spoken texts, where even the most formal categories show a preference for contractions. In BrE, both written and spoken, NotCs prevail over OpeCs, while in written AmE and NzE NotCs outnumber OpeCs and the latter are preferred in the spoken texts.

Other conclusions drawn from the analysis and comparison of the nine corpora are related to the individual forms of each operator:

a. Concerning the *be*-operator, while in written texts full forms of the potentially contractible sequences *are not* and *is not* prevail over their contracted counterparts, with the *am not* string, contractions, mainly OpeCs, are more common. As for the choice of contracted types, their selection also depends on the sequence used. Thus, OpeCs are preferred to NotCs with the form *are not* in the two written BrE corpora (*LOB* and *FLOB*), in *WWC* and also in the three spoken corpora (*LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*), while with the form *is not*, OpeCs are favoured in *FLOB*, *FROWN*, *ACE* and *WWC*, as well as in the spoken corpora.

b. With the operators *have*, *will* and *would*, NotCs are more frequent than OpeCs in the nine corpora under consideration, thus confirming what has been mentioned by scholars such as Quirk *et al*. (1985), Biber *et al*. (1999) and Kortmann (2003), among others.

c. Both the written and the spoken corpora have in common that the lexical verb *have* favours the use of the contracted variants, whereas the data for the operator *be* are rather diversified. As mentioned above, in AusE and NzE (both written and spoken) contractions predominate with lexical *be*; by contrast, in written BrE from the 1960s, in its written AmE counterpart for the same period and in spoken AmE, contractions are more likely to occur when it functions as an auxiliary.

d. The use of the form *ain't*, both for *be* and *have*, has also proved revealing. Contrary to my expectations, it is rarely found in the spoken medium, but it is rather common in written texts, especially in AmE.

e. The results obtained for the operator *have* followed by *got* are also noteworthy. In AusE and in AmE the construction is practically non-existent. Although the number of occurrences of the combination is too low to give definite conclusions, it can be said that in AmE its use has declined from the 1960s to the 1990s, even in spoken style. This is, in part, related to the tendency to use the auxiliary *do* to negate the lexical verb *have* (cf. Quirk *et al*. 1985: 131f). It has been shown here that all the corpora used in this study, with the exception of *LOB* and *LLC*, prefer negation with *do* to negation without *do*-support. This is especially evident in the most recent corpora of AmE (both *FROWN* and *CSPAE*), where the proportional use of negatives of *have* with *do*-support is very high, above 85%.

The last section of this dissertation (III.3.7.) has been devoted to the establishment of comparisons between the results obtained from my analysis of the nine corpora and those found in earlier studies devoted to the same topic, such as Biber (1987), Hiller (1987), Kjellmer (1998) and Biber *et al*. (1999). At first sight, my findings are not too different from those of the aforementioned scholars, since uncontracted forms are preferred in written texts and in the most formal categories, while, by contrast, in spoken texts and in those written categories more

closely related to the spoken style, such as Fiction, contractions are widely used. Furthermore, contractions are preferred in AmE texts to a greater extent than in BrE ones, and the selection of contractions over full forms is especially evident with pronominal subjects. However, my analysis of the data has also yielded some divergent results:

1. Hiller concluded that NotCs predominate over OpeCs with all operators except *be*. As already mentioned, the results I have obtained for the operator *be* in AmE from the 1960s point in a different direction, since *be* also shows a predominance of NotCs over OpeCs.

2. Biber *et al.* (1999) claimed that full forms are the preferred negative variant only in Academic prose. However, in my corpus both Academic prose and News favour the use of this kind of negation.

The present piece of research has aimed at providing, from a variationist perspective, a general view of the distribution of uncontracted and contracted negative variants in contemporary English both in written and in spoken texts, in different dialects (BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE), in different decades (from the 1960s to the 1990s) and in texts exhibiting different degrees of formality (from highly formal to informal text-types). Nevertheless, I am well aware that much work is still to be done in this field of research. Other factors, such as social stratification, age or gender factors, among others, are left for future research.

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VI. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Questionnaire

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Age:

Origin:

Studies:

Years in Spain:

Other language(s):

Write a paraphrase in English for the sequences in bold, the corresponding question tag, the corresponding translation into Spanish and, if possible, add another sentence using *neither,* as in the following example.

Ex. **John and Paul are not pilots**

Paraphrase: John and Paul don't work as pilots

Question Tag: John and Paul are not pilots, are they?

Translation: John y Paul no son pilotos

Sentence with *neither*: John and Paul are not pilots and neither are Chris and Tom

1. **Functionalism as a sociological credo is, therefore, not a direct consequence of observations**, but rather an indirect consequence of philosophical inference and judgment.
2. **Reliance is therefore not to be placed upon the archaeological particulars in an oral poem**.
3. **The procedures that you go through are typically not transparent**.

4. Because of the practical nature of the courses concerned, **they are generally not available to external students**.
5. It should be noted that **it is often not necessary to consider responses of all modes of vibration of the structural model**.
6. **Computers are in fact not particularly good at linguistic analysis yet**.
7. **He's obviously not your type.**
8. **Just having one number is really not very useful.**

APPENDIX B: Sample of the Database

This appendix contains a sample of the database used for the present study and which is provided in full in the attached CD-Rom. The database has been designed with the Microsoft Access 2000 program. It contains 24,708 registers, each of them comprising the following fields:

Corpus: *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE*, *WWC*, *LLC*, *CSPAE* and *WSC*.

Dialect: BrE, AmE, AusE and NzE.

Date of compilation of the texts: 1960s, 1960s-1990s, 1980s and 1990s.

Medium: written language (W) or spoken language (S).

Text-categories: Cat A, Cat B, Cat C, Cat D, Cat E, Cat F, Cat G, Cat H, Cat J, Cat K, Cat L, Cat M, Cat N, Cat P, Cat R (in *LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE*; also in *WWC*, with the exception of categories K to R, which are subsumed under Cat K),

S.1., S.2., S.3., S.4., S.5., S.6., S.7., S.8., S.9., S.10., S.11., S.12. (in *LLC*),

Math Com 6/97, Read Com 6A/97, Read Com 6B/97, North Carol 95, North Carol 96, North Carol 97, WH 95, WH 96, WH 97A, WH97B (in *CSPAE*),

DGB, DGI, DGU, DGZ, DPC, DPF, DPH, DPP, MSN, MST, MSW, MUC, MUJ, MUL, MUS (in *WSC*).

Operator: *be*, *have*, *will*, *shall*, *would*.

Individual forms: *am not*, *are not*, *is not*, *'m not*, *'re not*, *'s not* (both for *be* and *have*), *ain't*, *aren't*, *isn't*, *have not*, *has not*, *had not*, *'ve not*, *'d not* (both for *had* and *would*), *haven't*, *hasn't*, *hadn't*, *shall not*, *'ll not* (both for *shall* and *will*), *shan't*, *will not*, *won't*, *would not*, *wouldn't*.

Subject-type: Pronoun simple, Pronoun complex, NP simple, NP complex, NP compound, Existential *there*, Clause and Other.

DATABASE

Corpus	Dialect	Date	Text	Category	Operator	Form	Subject-type
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Be	Are not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Be	Is not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Have	’ve not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Will	Won’t	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat B	Be	Are not	Pronoun complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat B	Will	Will not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat B	Will	Won’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat B	Would	Would not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat C	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat C	Be	Is not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat C	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat C	Will	Won’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat C	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat D	Be	Is not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat D	Have	Have not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat D	Will	Will not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat D	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat E	Be	Is not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat E	Be	Isn’t	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat E	Have	Hasn’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat E	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat E	Would	Wouldn’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Be	Are not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Have	Has not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Will	Will not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Will	Won’t	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat F	Will/Shall	’ll not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat G	Be	Are not	NP complex

LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat G	Be	’s not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat G	Have	Has not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat G	Will	Will not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat G	Would	Would not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat H	Have	Have not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat H	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat H	Have	Had not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Have not	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Had not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Hadn’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Shall	Shall not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat J	Would	Would not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Be	’m not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Be	Isn’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Have	’s not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Have	Hadn’t	NP complex
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Shall	Shall not	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat K	Would	Wouldn’t	No subject
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	’re not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	’s not	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	Isn’t	No subject
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	’d not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	Haven’t	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Will	Won’t	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Shall	Shan’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat L	Would	’d not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat M	Be	’s not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat M	Be	Isn’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat M	Have	Had not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat M	Have	Haven’t	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat M	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple

LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	Are not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	Ain't	No subject
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	Ain't	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Have	's not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Will	Won't	No subject
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Would	Would not	No subject
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be/Have	's not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	's not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	Aren't	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	Isn't	Clause
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Have	Has not	NP simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Will	Won't	NP compound
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Would	'd not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat P	Would	Wouldn't	Exist. There
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat R	Be	Aren't	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat R	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat R	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat R	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
LOB	BrE	1960s	W	Cat R	Would	Wouldn't	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Be	Are not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Be	Is not	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Will	Will not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat A	Be/Have	's not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Are not	Pronoun complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Is not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	's not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Aren't	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Have	Have not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat B	Would	Wouldn't	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat C	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat C	Be	Is not	NP simple

FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat C	Be	Isn’t	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat C	Have	Hadn’t	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat D	Be	Are not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat D	Be	Is not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat D	Have	Had not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat D	Have	Had not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat D	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	Is not	Other
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	’re not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	Ain’t	No subject
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Have	Has not	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Have	Has not	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat E	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Be	Ain’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Be	Isn’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Have	Have not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Will	Will not	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Will	Won’t	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Will	Won’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat F	Would	Would not	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat G	Be	Are not	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat G	Have	Has not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat G	Have	Had not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat G	Have	Hadn’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat G	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Have not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat H	Would	Would not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat J	Be	’m not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat J	Have	Hadn’t	No subject

FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat J	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Be	’re not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Haven’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Will	Won’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Shall	Shan’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat K	Would	’d not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Be	’s not	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	Ain’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Be	Isn’t	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	’ve not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	Haven’t	No subject
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	Hadn’t	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Would	Wouldn’t	No subject
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat L	Would	Wouldn’t	Clause
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat M	Be	’s not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat M	Be	Isn’t	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat M	Have	Haven’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat M	Have	Hasn’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat M	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat N	Be	Are not	NP compound
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat N	Be	Aren’t	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat N	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat N	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat N	Will/Shall	’ll not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat P	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat P	Be	Ain’t	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat P	Have	Hadn’t	NP complex
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat P	Will	Will not	NP simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat P	Will/Shall	’ll not	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat R	Be	Ain’t	Exist. There
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat R	Be	Aren’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat R	Be	Isn’t	Pronoun simple
FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat R	Have	’d not	Pronoun simple

FLOB	BrE	1990s	W	Cat R	Will	Won't	No subject
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat A	Be	Are not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat A	Be	Is not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat A	Have	Has not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat A	Have	Had not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat A	Would	Wouldn't	No subject
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Be	Is not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Be	Aren't	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Be	Isn't	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Have	Have not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Will	Will not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat B	Would	Wouldn't	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Be	Are not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Have	Has not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Shall	Shan't	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat C	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat D	Be	Are not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat D	Be	Isn't	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat D	Have	Has not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat D	Will	Will not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat D	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Be	Isn't	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Be	Isn't	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Have	Has not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Will	Will not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat E	Will	Won't	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat F	Be	Are not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat F	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat F	Have	Had not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat F	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat F	Will	Will not	NP complex

BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Be	Is not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Be	Ain’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Have	Have not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Will	Won’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat G	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Have	Have not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Will	Will not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Would	Would not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat H	Would	Would not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat J	Be	Is not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat J	Be	Aren’t	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat J	Have	Had not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat J	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Have	Ain’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Have	Had not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Have	Haven’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Would	Would not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Would	’d not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat K	Will/Shall	’ll not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	’m not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	Ain’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	Ain’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Be	Isn’t	No subject
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	’ve not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	Haven’t	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	Hadn’t	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Have	Hadn’t	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat L	Will	Won’t	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Be	’s not	Pronoun simple

BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Be	Aren’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Will	Won’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat M	Would	Would not	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	’re not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be	Ain’t	Clause
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Be/Have	Ain’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Have	Haven’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Have	Hasn’t	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat N	Have	Hadn’t	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	’s not	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	’s not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Be	Isn’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Have	’d not	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat P	Would	Would not	NP complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat R	Be	Are not	Pronoun complex
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat R	Be	Ain’t	Exist. There
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat R	Have	Hadn’t	Pronoun simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat R	Would	Would not	NP simple
BROWN	AmE	1960s	W	Cat R	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Be	Is not	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Be	’s not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Have	Had not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Have	Haven’t	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Will	Will not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Is not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Is not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	’s not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Be	Ain’t	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Have	Has not	Clause

FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat B	Will	Won't	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat C	Be	'm not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat C	Have	Ain't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat C	Have	Had not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat C	Have	Hasn't	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat C	Would	Would not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Be	's not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Be	Isn't	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Have	Has not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Will	Will not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Will	Won't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat D	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	Are not	Pronoun complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	Ain't	No subject
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Be	Isn't	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Have	Haven't	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Have	Hasn't	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat E	Will	Won't	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat F	Be	Are not	NP compound
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat F	Be	Aren't	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat F	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat F	Will	Will not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat F	Would	Would not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Be	Are not	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Be	Is not	Other
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Be	Isn't	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Have	Have not	NP compound
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Have	Have not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Would	Would not	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat G	Would	Wouldn't	Clause
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Be	Are not	NP complex
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Be	Aren't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Have not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Haven't	Exist. There

FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Have	Hadn't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat H	Will	Won't	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat J	Be	Are not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat J	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat J	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat J	Would	Wouldn't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Ain't	No subject
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Be	Isn't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Haven't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Have	Hadn't	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Will	Will not	No subject
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat K	Shall	Shan't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Be	Ain't	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	Has not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Have	've not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat L	Would	Wouldn't	No subject
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat M	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat M	Be	Aren't	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat N	Be	Is not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat N	Be	Ain't	Other
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat N	Have	'd not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat N	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat N	Will/Shall	'll not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat P	Be	Are not	NP simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat P	Have	Had not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat P	Would	'd not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat P	Would	Wouldn't	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat R	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat R	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple

FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat R	Have	Has not	Exist. There
FROWN	AmE	1990s	W	Cat R	Would	Wouldn't	Other
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat A	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat A	Be	Is not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat A	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat A	Will	Won't	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Are not	Pronoun complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Ain't	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat B	Have	Have not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat B	Will	Will not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	Is not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	Isn't	Pronoun complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Have	Haven't	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Will	Will not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat D	Be	Are not	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat D	Be	Aren't	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat D	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat D	Will	Will not	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat D	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Be	Is not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Be	's not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Be	Aren't	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Have	Haven't	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Will	Won't	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat E	Would	Would not	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat F	Be	Are not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat F	Have	Have not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat F	Have	Had not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat F	Will	Won't	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat F	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat G	Be	Is not	Clause

ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat G	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat G	Have	Has not	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat G	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat G	Would	Wouldn’t	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat H	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat H	Have	Has not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat H	Will	Will not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat J	Be	’m not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat J	Be	Isn’t	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat J	Have	Had not	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat J	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat K	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat K	Be	Isn’t	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat K	Have	Had not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat K	Have	Hasn’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat K	Would	’d not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat L	Be	Are not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat L	Be	Ain’t	No subject
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat L	Have	’d not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat L	Have	Hadn’t	NP complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat M	Be	’s not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat M	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat M	Will	Won’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat N	Be	’s not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat N	Be	Isn’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat N	Have	Hadn’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat N	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat P	Be	Aren’t	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat P	Have	’s not	Pronoun simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat P	Have	Hadn’t	Exist. There
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat P	Would	Would not	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat P	Will/Shall	’ll not	Pronoun simple

ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat R	Be	Is not	Pronoun complex
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat R	Be	Isn't	NP simple
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat R	Will	Will not	No subject
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Be	Are not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Be	Isn't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Have	Had not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Have	Hasn't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Will	Won't	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat A	Would	Would not	NP compound
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Are not	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Is not	NP compound
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Be	Aren't	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Have	Have not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Would	Would not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat B	Would	Wouldn't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	Are not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	'm not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	Aren't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat C	Be	Isn't	Clause
ACE	AusE	1980s	W	Cat C	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat C	Would	Would not	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Be	Is not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Be	Isn't	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Have	Have not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Have	Had not	Pronoun complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat D	Will	Will not	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Be	Is not	Clause
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Be	's not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Have	Has not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Will	Won't	NP simple

WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat E	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Be	Aren't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Have	Haven't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Have	Hadn't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Will	Will not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat F	Would	Would not	Clause
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Be	Is not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Be	's not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Have	've not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Have	Hadn't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Will	Won't	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat G	Would	Would not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Be	Are not	NP compound
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Have	Has not	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Have	Had not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Will	Will not	Clause
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat H	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Be	Isn't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Have	Has not	Clause
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Have	Hasn't	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Will	Will not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Will	Won't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat J	Would	Wouldn't	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Be	Is not	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Be	's not	Exist. There
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Be	Ain't	No subject
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Have	Ain't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Have	'd not	Pronoun simple

WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Have	Haven't	NP simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Will	Won't	No subject
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Shall	Shall not	NP complex
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Shall	Shan't	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Would	'd not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Would	Wouldn't	No subject
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat K	Will/Shall	'll not	Pronoun simple
WWC	NzE	1980s	W	Cat L	Be	Is not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Be	Is not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Have	Haven't	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Have	Hasn't	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Have	Hadn't	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Will	Will not	Pronoun complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Would	'd not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.1	Would	Wouldn't	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Be	's not	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Be	Aren't	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Have	Hasn't	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Would	Wouldn't	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.2	Will/Shall	'll not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.3	Be	Are not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.3	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.3	Be	Aren't	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.3	Be	Isn't	Clause
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.3	Have	've not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Be	Is not	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Be	's not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Be	Aren't	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Have	's not	NP simple

LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Have	Haven’t	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Would	Wouldn’t	Clause
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.4	Be/Have	’s not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Be	Are not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Be	Is not	Clause
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Be	Isn’t	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Have	Hasn’t	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Have	Hadn’t	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.5	Will	Won’t	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Be	Aren’t	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Be	Isn’t	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Have	Has not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Will	Won’t	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.6	Would	Would not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Be	Isn’t	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Have	Haven’t	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Will	Won’t	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Shall	Shan’t	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.7	Would	Would not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.8	Be	Is not	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.8	Be	Isn’t	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.8	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.8	Will	Won’t	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.8	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.9	Be	Is not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.9	Have	Have not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.9	Have	’d not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.9	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.9	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.10	Be	’s not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.10	Have	Had not	NP simple

LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.10	Have	Haven't	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.10	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.10	Will	Won't	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.11	Be	'm not	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.11	Have	Hadn't	Pronoun simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.11	Will	Won't	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.11	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.11	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.12	Be	Are not	NP complex
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.12	Be	Aren't	Exist. There
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.12	Have	Have not	NP simple
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.12	Will	Will not	No subject
LLC	BrE	1960s-1990s	S	S.12	Would	Would not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Be	Is not	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Be	's not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Be	Isn't	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Have	Has not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Have	Hasn't	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Will	Won't	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Math Com 6/97	Would	Wouldn't	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Be	Are not	NP compound
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Be	Is not	NP compound
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Be	Aren't	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Have	Have not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Will	Will not	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6A/97	Will	Won't	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Be	Are not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Be	Is not	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Be	's not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Be	Aren't	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple

CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Have	’ve not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Have	Hasn’t	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Have	Hadn’t	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Would	’d not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	Read Com 6B/97	Would	Wouldn’t	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Be	Is not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Be	Ain’t	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Have	Has not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Have	Had not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 95	Would	Wouldn’t	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Be	Are not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Be	Isn’t	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Have	Haven’t	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Have	Hasn’t	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Will	Will not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 96	Would	Wouldn’t	NP compound
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Be	Are not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Be	’m not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Be	Isn’t	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Have	Have not	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Have	Have not	Pronoun complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Have	Has not	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Will	Will not	NP compound
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Will	Won’t	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	North Carol 97	Would	Would not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Be	Are not	Clause
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Be	Is not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Be	Aren’t	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Be	Isn’t	Exist. There

CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Have	Haven't	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Will	Will not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Will	Won't	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 95	Would	Would not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Be	's not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Be	Aren't	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Be	Isn't	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Have	's not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Have	Haven't	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Have	Hadn't	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Will	Will not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Will	Won't	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Would	Would not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97A	Would	Wouldn't	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Be	Is not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Be	Isn't	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Have	Have not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Have	Have not	Exist. There
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Have	Has not	NP complex
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Have	Haven't	No subject
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Have	Hadn't	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Shall	Shall not	NP simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Will	Won't	Pronoun simple
CSPAE	AmE	1990s	S	WH 97B	Would	Wouldn't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Be	Am not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Be	Are not	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Be	Is not	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Be	Ain't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Have	's not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Have	Haven't	NP compound
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Have	Haven't	Clause

WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Will	Won't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGB	Would	Wouldn't	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Be	Are not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Be	Is not	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Be	Aren't	NP compound
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Have	Have not	NP compound
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Have	Has not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGI	Have	Hadn't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGU	Be	Are not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGU	Be	Is not	Pronoun complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGU	Be	Aren't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGU	Have	Had not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGU	Will	Will not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Be	Are not	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Be	'm not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Be	's not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Be	Aren't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Have	Have not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Have	Has not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Have	Haven't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Will	Won't	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DGZ	Would	'd not	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Be	Is not	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Be	Aren't	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Be	Isn't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Have	Have not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Have	Haven't	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Have	Hasn't	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Have	Hasn't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Have	Hadn't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Will	Won't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Would	'd not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPC	Would	Wouldn't	Pronoun complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Be	Is not	Exist. There

WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Be	Aren't	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Have	Have not	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Have	Haven't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Have	Hadn't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPF	Would	Wouldn't	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPH	Be	Is not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPH	Be	's not	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPH	Have	'd not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPH	Have	Hasn't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPH	Have	Hadn't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPP	Be	Is not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPP	Have	Hasn't	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPP	Will	Won't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	DPP	Would	Wouldn't	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MSN	Be	Are not	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MSN	Be	Isn't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MSN	Have	Hasn't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MSN	Will	Won't	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MST	Have	Had not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MST	Have	Haven't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MST	Will	Will not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MST	Shall	Shall not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MST	Would	Would not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUC	Be	Aren't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUC	Be	Isn't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUC	Be	Isn't	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUC	Have	Haven't	Pronoun complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUC	Would	Wouldn't	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUJ	Be	're not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUJ	Be	's not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUJ	Will	Will not	NP complex
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUL	Be	Isn't	Clause
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUL	Have	Hasn't	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUL	Shall	Shall not	NP simple

WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUL	Would	Would not	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUL	Would	Wouldn’t	Exist. There
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUS	Have	’ve not	Pronoun simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUS	Will	Won’t	NP simple
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUS	Would	Would not	No subject
WSC	NzE	1980s	S	MUS	Would	Wouldn’t	Pronoun simple

Formas no Contractas y Contracciones Negativas en Inglés Contemporáneo: Estudio basado en un Corpus

De acuerdo con la normativa establecida por el Vicerrectorado de Oferta Docente y Espacio Europeo de Educación Superior de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela en relación con la elaboración y presentación de Tesis Doctorales, a continuación se ofrece un resumen, en castellano, de los principales objetivos y contenidos de este estudio, así como de la metodología empleada y las conclusiones obtenidas a lo largo de las diversas secciones de que consta esta tesis.

La negación ha sido y continúa siendo uno de los temas más estudiados en el ámbito de la lingüística inglesa. Sin embargo, la variación entre contracciones negativas y sus correspondientes formas sin contraer en inglés contemporáneo no ha captado la atención de muchos lingüistas, a excepción de Biber (1987), Hiller (1987), Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002), Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002) y Castillo-González (2001, 2003). En este contexto, el objetivo primordial de esta tesis doctoral es el de ofrecer, desde una perspectiva variacionista, una visión más completa y exhaustiva que la proporcionada por estos estudios sobre la distribución de formas negativas alternativas, no sólo en diferentes dialectos del inglés actual sino también en distintas clases de textos, tanto orales como escritos, y atendiendo a diversos factores estructurales.

Este trabajo está dividido en dos grandes bloques. El primero de ellos, de corte más teórico, se dedica a la revisión de la bibliografía especializada sobre el uso de las contracciones negativas y las formas sin contraer. Por su parte, el segundo bloque se centra en el estudio empírico de los datos extraídos de nueve córpora computarizados de inglés contemporáneo: tres pertenecientes al inglés británico, de los cuales dos son escritos, *The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (*LOB*) y *The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (*FLOB*), y uno oral, *The London-Lund Corpus* (*LLC*); otros tres de inglés americano, dos escritos, *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (*BROWN*) y *The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (*FROWN*), y uno oral, *The Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (*CSPAE*); un corpus escrito de inglés australiano, *The Australian Corpus of English* (*ACE*); y dos córpora representativos del inglés de Nueva Zelanda, uno escrito, *The Wellington Written Corpus* (*WWC*), y el otro oral *The Wellington Spoken Corpus* (*WSC*).

El punto de partida de la primera parte del trabajo ha sido la distinción entre negación clausal, es decir, aquélla en la que el ámbito de la negación es toda la cláusula, y negación subclausal, cuando lo que se niega es tan sólo una parte de la cláusula (cfr. Klima (1964), Quirk *et al*. (1985) y Huddleston (1995), entre otros autores). El establecimiento de dicha distinción ha resultado imprescindible, puesto que mi estudio se centra, de forma exclusiva, en el primero de estos dos tipos de negación.

En inglés contemporáneo la negación clausal con la partícula negativa *not* puede materializarse en tres patrones alternativos:

(a) En primer lugar, aquél que muestra la forma sin contraer del operador seguido de *not* (*he is not*), que he denominado en este estudio *Uncontracted negative* (**UncN**).

(b) En segundo lugar, la contracción del operador con el sujeto (*he's not*), la denominada *Operator contraction* (**OpeC**).

(c) Por último, la fusión del operador con la partícula negativa *not* (*he isn't*), a la que me refiero como *Not-contraction* (**NotC**).

Un total de dieciséis operadores se pueden negar con la partícula *not* en posición post-verbal: *be*, *have*, *do*, *will*, *would*, *shall*, *should*, *can*, *could*, *must*, *may*, *might*, *dare*, *need*, *ought to* y *used to*. La mayoría de estos operadores admiten tanto la UncN como la NotC, mientras que la OpeC tiene un campo de acción más restringido y sólo es posible en los siguientes casos: el presente del operador *be*, el operador *have*, tanto en presente como en pasado, y los operadores *will*, *shall* y *would*. Con el objetivo de estudiar la variación real entre los tres patrones alternativos antes mencionados, este trabajo de investigación se ha centrado precisamente en estos operadores que admiten las tres posibilidades de negación.

Los operadores objeto de estudio han dispuesto de contracciones negativas desde los períodos más antiguos de la historia de la lengua hasta nuestros días. Los

cambios más significativos en el sistema de negación y en las contracciones negativas desde una perspectiva diacrónica se resumen en la Sección II.2.

La revisión de la bibliografía especializada a la que he dedicado la Sección II.3. de esta tesis me ha permitido establecer una serie de variables de las que, en mayor o menor medida, depende la distribución de las formas no contractas y sus correspondientes contracciones negativas en inglés contemporáneo. Entre otros factores, cabe destacar los siguientes:

(a) **Tipo de texto.** Tal como afirman Fries (1940: 8), Forsheden (1983: 36), Quirk *et al*. (1985: 123ff) o Biber (1988: 243), entre otros, las contracciones tienden a asociarse con el lenguaje informal o con textos orales y suelen considerarse inapropiadas en textos escritos, en particular, en aquellas categorías de carácter más formal, como textos científicos o documentos oficiales. Así, Biber (1987), en su estudio sobre el uso de las contracciones en textos británicos y americanos de diferentes registros, detectó una mayor proporción de contracciones en la categoría "Fiction", relativamente próxima a la lengua hablada, que en textos más formales, como puede ser el caso de "Official Documents". Otros autores, como Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 91; 800) o Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002: 81ff), confirman la existencia de esta correlación entre textos informales y una mayor proporción de formas contractas.

(b) **Dialecto.** Las diferencias dialectales también juegan un papel fundamental en la selección de las variantes objeto de estudio. De acuerdo con esta

variable, las contracciones parecen ser más frecuentes en inglés americano que en inglés británico, tanto en textos formales como en categorías más cercanas a la lengua oral, tal como demuestran los estudios de Biber (1987), Hiller (1987) y Castillo-González (2001). La selección de los dos tipos de contracciones, OpeC y NotC, también parece estar condicionada, en cierta medida, por criterios dialectales. Así, por ejemplo, en el sur de Inglaterra se detecta una preferencia por la NotC sobre la OpeC, mientras que en el norte de Inglaterra y en Escocia se tiende a usar con más frecuencia la OpeC que la NotC.

(c) **Clase social**, **sexo** y **edad.** El uso de determinadas contracciones puede ser indicativo de clase social. La forma contracta que funciona como marcador de clase social de una forma más obvia es *ain't*. Autores como Freeborn (1986) o Jørgensen (1979), entre otros, la consideran una forma no estándar utilizada sobre todo por hablantes de clase social baja. En lo que se refiere a la variable sexo, las mujeres tienden a usar las contracciones con menor frecuencia que los hombres; sin embargo, tal como afirma Coates (1986), las mujeres usan más contracciones en las denominadas "question tags". Por último, con respecto a la variable edad, se puede decir que el porcentaje más alto en el uso de contracciones se observa entre los hablantes más jóvenes.

(d) **Factores estructurales**, tales como tipo de cláusula o tipo de sujeto. Con respecto al primero de estos factores, Kjellmer (1998), Westergren (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999) o Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002) afirman que

las contracciones se encuentran con mayor frecuencia en cláusulas interrogativas e imperativas que en afirmativas. Por lo que respecta al uso de formas contractas con aquellos verbos que pueden funcionar como auxiliares y como verbos léxicos (*be* y *have*) no existe un acuerdo unánime entre los lingüistas. Algunos autores afirman que las contracciones son más comunes cuando estos verbos funcionan como auxiliares que cuando son verbos léxicos (cfr. Quirk *et al*. (1985), Sinclair (1990) o Biber *et al*. (1999)), mientras que otros, como Philips & Reynolds (1987), mantienen que con *be* las contracciones predominan cuando es una cópula. Asimismo, el tipo de sujeto también parece ser determinante en la distribución de las variables objeto de estudio, puesto que las formas no contractas se ven favorecidas con sujetos más complejos (frases nominales, cláusulas, etc.), mientras que las contracciones son más frecuentes con sujetos pronominales. En este sentido, la frecuencia con la que dos o más elementos aparecen juntos en el discurso, la denominada "string frequency" por Krug (1998), parece tener una influencia decisiva, ya que una mayor frecuencia de una secuencia determinada suele ir asociada a una mayor proporción de contracciones.

Con relación a la distribución de las dos formas contractas, la bibliografía especializada menciona el predominio de la OpeC sobre la NotC con todos los operadores excepto *be* (cfr. Quirk *et al*. (1985), Biber *et al*. (1999) o Kortmann (2003), entre otros). No obstante, la distribución de las dos alternativas contractas parece depender, en gran medida, de distintos factores mencionados por Hiller

(1987), Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002) y Yaeger-Dror, Hall-Lew & Deckert (2002), tales como tipo de texto, variación geográfica, sexo, factores estructurales o criterios fonológicos (cfr. Sección II.3.2.3.).

Tal como comentaba al comienzo de este resumen, la segunda parte de esta tesis doctoral se centra en un estudio empírico de los datos extraídos de los nueve córpora computarizados mencionados con anterioridad (*LOB*, *FLOB*, *BROWN*, *FROWN*, *ACE*, *WWC*, *LLC*, *CSPAE* y *WSC*). Las primeras secciones de esta parte de la tesis describen, de forma breve, cada uno de estos córpora, así como los problemas con los que me he encontrado en las fases de obtención, clasificación y análisis de los datos. La mayor parte de estos córpora contienen un número total aproximado de 1.000.000 de palabras y una estructura similar, con distintos tipos de textos que ilustran diferentes grados de formalidad. Las únicas excepciones son el *ACE*, del que sólo se seleccionaron aquellas categorías que son comunes a los demás corpora escritos (A-R), en torno a 926.000 palabras; el *LLC*, que contiene tan sólo 500.000 palabras; y el *CSPAE*, del que se han seleccionado textos representativos de todas las categorías incluidas en el corpus por una extensión total de 1.000.000 de palabras. Por consiguiente, el corpus total utilizado para la elaboración de esta tesis doctoral ronda las 8.426.000 palabras.

Para la obtención de los datos he recurrido al programa WordSmith Tools versión 3.0, centrándome (como ya se justificó con anterioridad) en aquellos operadores que admiten tanto la UncN, como la OpeC y la NotC. Por lo tanto, las

formas analizadas han sido las siguientes: *am not*, *are not*, *is not*, *'m not*, *'re not*, *'s not* (tanto para *is* como para *has*), *ain't*, *aren't*, *isn't*, *have not*, *has not*, *had not*, *'ve not*, *'d not* (tanto para *has* como para *would*), *haven't*, *hasn't*, *hadn't*, *will not*, *'ll not* (tanto para *will* como para *shall*), *won't*, *shall not*, *shan't*, *would not* y *wouldn't*. El cómputo total de ejemplos correspondientes a estas 24 formas ha ascendido a 24.708. Sin embargo, no todos estos ejemplos pueden considerarse casos de variación libre entre las tres alternativas de negación (cfr. Sección III.2.). Así, se han excluido contextos como los siguientes: (1) ejemplos de negación subclausal; (2) formas neutralizadas entre dos operadores; (3) formas negativas del operador *shall*, dado que, desde el punto de vista histórico, la contracción *'ll* corresponde a *will* y no a *shall*; (4) formas negativas de *had better* y *would rather*, ya que, según Quirk *et al*. (1985) y Denison (1998), el uso de la NotC con estas expresiones queda restringido a cláusulas interrogativas negativas; (5) otros casos que no se encuadran en ninguno de los grupos anteriores. El total de ejemplos excluidos en las Sección III.2. asciende a 956.

Una vez descartados los casos que acabamos de mencionar, se han analizado un total de 23.752 ejemplos, de los cuales 9.151 (38.53%) son UncNs, 5.423 (22.83%) OpeCs y 9.178 (38.64%) NotCs, lo que significa que, de forma global, el material utilizado para esta tesis doctoral muestra una preferencia por las contracciones frente a las formas negativas no contractas. Sin embargo, sólo 19.067 de estos ejemplos permiten libremente la elección de al menos una de las dos formas fusionadas objeto de estudio, mientras que los restantes 4.685 casos han sido clasificados como contextos de KO (cfr. Sección III.3.2.). Así, por ejemplo, la

OpeC no es posible en una gran variedad de estructuras, incluyendo las siguientes: "yes-no questions", "*wh*-questions" con inversión del sujeto y del verbo, "question tags", cláusulas subordinadas condicionales con inversión del sujeto y del verbo, cláusulas coordinadas en las que el sujeto de la segunda cláusula está omitido, casos en los que el sujeto no está presente, aquellos ejemplos que involucran a la tercera persona singular de presente de indicativo de *be* o de *have* en los que el sujeto acaba en -*s*, ejemplos en los que el sujeto y el operador están separados por algún otro elemento clausal, casos en los que el hablante pone énfasis tanto en el operador como en la partícula negativa o aquellos ejemplos donde se hace una pausa entre el sujeto y el operador. Por su parte, la NotC no es posible en las denominadas "split VPs" o en aquellos casos en los que el hablante enfatiza el sujeto y el operador o hace una pausa entre éste y la partícula negativa.

Tras el análisis individualizado de aquellos grupos de ejemplos que no admiten la libre elección de las tres variantes objeto de estudio, los restantes casos (19.067 en total), han sido examinados teniendo en cuenta diferentes factores, tales como dialecto (inglés británico, americano, australiano y neocelandés), medio (lengua escrita frente a lengua oral), fecha de composición de los textos (la década de 1960 frente a la de 1990 en inglés británico y americano escrito), registro (formal frente a informal), clase de operador (*be*, *have*, *will* y *would*), tipo de sujeto (pronombre, frase nominal, cláusula, *there* existencial y otros) o la influencia potencial de la denominada "string frequency". Las principales conclusiones que he obtenido del análisis de cada uno de los nueve córpora son las siguientes:

(a) En los textos escritos, las formas sin contraer predominan, en general, sobre las formas contractas. Sin embargo, aquellos textos escritos más próximos a la lengua oral, es decir, las categorías de ficción, muestran una preferencia por las contracciones negativas frente a sus correspondientes formas sin contraer. La única excepción es la categoría M ("Science fiction"), cuyo comportamiento es más cercano al de tipos de texto más formales como J ("Learned and scientific writings"). En el caso de los textos orales, tanto los más formales como los más informales, favorecen el uso de las contracciones.

(b) Se detecta una preferencia por las UncNs con todos los operadores en todos los textos escritos con la excepción del *FROWN*, que favorece esta variante sólo con el verbo *be*. En los córpora orales, de nuevo, las contracciones son más comunes que sus equivalentes no contractas independientemente del operador.

(c) En lo que se refiere a la variación entre los dos tipos de contracción, OpeC y NotC, las primeras tienden a usarse con mayor frecuencia con el operador *be*, tanto en textos orales como escritos, confirmando así lo mencionado por autores como Dillard (1980), Freeborn (1986), Hughes & Trudgill (1996) o Anderwald (2002). Sin embargo, en inglés americano de los años 1960, la tendencia va en la dirección opuesta, ya que existe una mayor proporción de NotCs con este operador. Estos datos demuestran que los autores antes

mencionados, pueden, a veces, caer en generalizaciones que no siempre dan cuenta de la gran diversidad lingüística existente.

(d) Con relación al uso de las contracciones con aquellos verbos que pueden funcionar como auxiliares y como verbos léxicos (*be* y *have*), los datos de mi estudio revelan un comportamiento heterogéneo de los distintos córpora. Así, el verbo léxico *be* favorece las contracciones en mayor proporción que el auxiliar *be* en todos los córpora escritos excepto *LOB* y *BROWN*, es decir, los correspondientes a los años 60, y en inglés americano oral (*CSPAE*). Por el contrario, con el operador *have* los nueve córpora coinciden en mostrar una mayor frecuencia de uso de las formas contractas cuando funciona como verbo léxico. En lo que se refiere a la distinción entre *be* como auxiliar de progresiva y como auxiliar de pasiva, la tendencia es a encontrar un porcentaje más alto de formas contractas con el primero de estos usos. Sin embargo, la proporción de NotCs es mayor con el *be* pasivo que con el *be* progresivo.

(e) En cuanto a los datos ofrecidos por cada corpus en base al tipo de sujeto, la tendencia general que se observa es que las contracciones, en particular las NotCs, se prefieren con los sujetos pronominales y con el *there* existencial, mientras que las formas no contractas están normalmente asociadas a tipos de sujeto más complejos, como sujetos nominales o clausales. Asimismo, la importancia de la frecuencia en la selección de variantes negativas se ha visto confirmada en esta tesis, ya que secuencias muy frecuentes como *he is*

not, favorecen las contracciones en mayor medida que otras como *man is not*, que rara vez aparecen repetidas en el material utilizado.

Una vez analizados los datos de cada corpus de forma individual (cfr. Secciones III.3.4. y III.3.5.), se han establecido una serie de comparaciones desde diferentes puntos de vista (cfr. Sección III.3.6.), lo que me ha permitido llegar a las siguientes conclusiones:

1. Desde una perspectiva diacrónica, la comparación entre, por un lado, el *LOB* y el *FLOB*, ambos de inglés británico, y, por otro, el *BROWN* y el *FROWN* de inglés americano permite afirmar que, a pesar de que las UncNs son la opción predominante, en la lengua escrita las contracciones han experimentado una progresión notable desde los años 1960 hasta la década de 1990. De hecho, las formas contractas han aumentando su uso de forma considerable no sólo en textos informales, como las categorías de ficción, sino también en categorías más formales, como "Learned and scientific writings" (Cat J). En cuanto a la variación entre formas contractas, el inglés británico manifiesta un predominio de NotCs frente a OpeCs con todos los operadores excepto *be*, tanto en los años 1960 como en los 1990. El predominio de la NotC con todos los operadores excepto *be* también es visible en inglés americano de los años 1990 (*FROWN*), frente a los datos del *BROWN*, con material de la década de los años 1960, donde el verbo *be* también favorece la NotC.

2. Teniendo en cuenta factores dialectales, se puede afirmar que, en inglés escrito en los cuatro dialectos estudiados, las formas sin contraer predominan sobre las formas contractas. Sin embargo, la frecuencia de contracciones es mayor en inglés americano que en inglés británico, australiano o neocelandés. Asimismo, en todos los dialectos, la opción contracta preferida es la NotC. Por el contrario, en los textos orales los tres dialectos estudiados favorecen el uso de contracciones en mayor medida que las formas sin contraer. Sin embargo, la proporción de contracciones en inglés americano es menor que en inglés británico o neocelandés, debido al mayor grado de formalidad de los textos presentes en el *CSPAE*. Con relación a la variación entre los dos tipos de contracciones en los textos orales, el papel del dialecto resulta también fundamental, ya que en inglés americano y en inglés neocelandés las OpeCs predominan sobre las NotCs, mientras que éstas últimas son la opción preferida en inglés británico.

3. En lo que se refiere al medio (lengua escrita frente a lengua oral), como ya ha quedado patente en los párrafos anteriores, los córpora escritos favorecen el uso de las formas no contractas, mientras que los segundos prefieren el uso de las contracciones, incluso en los textos más formales.

Por último, el análisis de los nueve córpora seleccionados para la elaboración de esta tesis doctoral me ha permitido establecer, asimismo, comparaciones entre los datos obtenidos de mi estudio y los de aquellos autores que han prestado atención al mismo tema, aunque en menor medida (cfr. Sección

III.3.7.). Así, por ejemplo, mis datos corroboran los resultados obtenidos por Biber (1987) y Kjellmer (1998) con relación a la distribución de las dos variantes de negación en textos escritos, en los que la dicotomía textos formales frente a textos informales desempeña un papel determinante. Por otra parte, los datos de mi investigación coinciden sólo de forma parcial con los de Hiller (1987), ya que la tendencia a que la OpeC predomine sobre la NotC con el operador *be* no se confirma en inglés americano escrito de los años 1960. Por último, mis datos tampoco ratifican todas las afirmaciones hechas por Biber *et al*. (1999) para el inglés británico, ya que, los textos incluidos en la categoría "News"en mi investigación favorecen las formas sin contraer.

En resumen, esta tesis doctoral contribuye a ofrecer una visión más amplia que la existente hasta este momento de los patrones de distribución de formas negativas contractas y sin contraer en inglés contemporáneo de aquellos operadores que admiten las tres alternativas de negación, UncN, OpeC y NotC, tomando como punto de partida el análisis de textos de diferentes décadas, dialectos, registros y medios. No obstante, este trabajo todavía dista de proporcionar una descripción global del tema objeto de estudio. Así, por ejemplo, el análisis de otras variables como edad, sexo o estratificación social, entre otras, debe esperar a ser acometido en futuras investigaciones.

La negación ha sido y continúa siendo uno de los temas más estudiados de la lingüística inglesa. Sin embargo, la variación entre formas negativas contractas y formas sin contraer no ha sido una cuestión a la que los lingüistas hayan prestado demasiada atención, excepciones notables son Biber (1987), Hiller (1987), Kjellmer (1998), Biber *et al*. (1999), Tagliamonte & Smith (2002) y Yaeger-Dror *et al*. (2002). En este contexto, el objetivo primordial de esta tesis doctoral es el de ofrecer, desde una perspectiva variacionista, una visión más completa y exhaustiva que la proporcionada por estos autores sobre la distribución de formas negativas alternativas, no sólo en diferentes dialectos del inglés actual sino también en distintas clases de textos, tanto orales como escritos, y atendiendo a diversos factores estructurales.

La tesis consta de dos grandes bloques claramente diferenciados. El primero de ellos, de corte más teórico, se dedica a la revisión de la bibliografía especializada sobre la distribución de las contracciones negativas y las formas sin contraer en la lengua inglesa tanto en textos escritos como orales. Por su parte, el segundo bloque se centra en el estudio empírico de los datos extraídos de nueve córpora computarizados de inglés contemporáneo: tres pertenecientes al inglés británico, de los cuales dos son escritos, *The Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (*LOB*) y *The Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (*FLOB*), y uno oral, *The London-Lund Corpus* (*LLC*); otros tres de inglés americano, dos escritos, *The Brown University Corpus of American English* (*BROWN*) y *The Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (*FROWN*), y uno oral, *The Corpus of Spoken Professional American English* (*CSPAE*); un corpus escrito de inglés australiano, *The Australian Corpus of English* (*ACE*); y dos córpora representativos del inglés de Nueva Zelanda, uno escrito, *The Wellington Written Corpus* (*WWC*), y el otro oral *The Wellington Spoken Corpus* (*WSC*). Este estudio se centra de forma exclusiva en aquellos casos en los que la negación opera a nivel clausal,

es decir, cuando el ámbito de la negación es la cláusula en su conjunto no sólo parte de ella. En inglés contemporáneo se pueden distinguir tres formas alternativas de negación clausal: (i) la forma sin contraer del operador seguido de *not* (*he is not*), que he denominado en este estudio *Uncontracted negative* (UncN), (ii) la contracción del operador con el sujeto (*he's not*), la denominada *Operator contraction* (OpeC) y (iii) la fusión del operador con la partícula negativa *not* (*he isn't*), a la que me refiero como *Not-contraction* (NotC). Con el objetivo de estudiar la variación real entre los tres patrones alternativos antes mencionados, este trabajo de investigación se ha centrado precisamente en aquellos operadores que admiten las tres posibilidades de negación, y la selección de los nueve córpora computarizados me permite: (a) observar el comportamiento de las contracciones negativas y las formas sin contraer en relación al grado de formalidad de los textos, ya que tanto los córpora escritos como los orales contienen diferentes registros que abarcan desde textos científicos o conferencias hasta conversaciones o textos de ficción; (b) analizar la variación de contracciones negativas y formas no contractas dependiendo del dialecto: inglés británico, americano, australiano y neocelandés y del medio (lengua escrita frente a lengua oral); (c) estudiar la distribución de dichas formas en inglés británico y americano desde un punto de vista diacrónico, es decir, desde los años 60 a los años 90 y, por último, examinar el uso de las formas negativas objeto de estudio en relación a la clase de operador utilizado, al tipo de sujeto que presenta la cláusula o a la influencia potencial de la denominada "string frequency".